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643 Now he makes the crayfish good to eat and the *poopoo* fish, the moss, the ferns, the *kavakava-atua* plants.
778 What does the king make fertile in the country?
The mosses, the ferns, the *kavakava-atua* plants, the king makes grow in the country.
533 Now he makes the mosses favorable, makes the ferns favorable, he makes the roots of
539 the *kavakava-atua* favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
He introduces the tuna fish, the *atu* fish, and the *ature* fish.
Now he makes the tuna fish favorable, he makes the *atu* favorable, he makes the *ature* favorable too.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The yams, the taro, the sweet-potatoes the king makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the yams, the sweet-potatoes, the sugar cane, the shoots favorable in the country, in the shade.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The turtle, its abdominal shell, its legs—these he makes grow in the country.,
Now he makes the turtle, its abdominal shell and its legs favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The stars, the sky, the heat, the sun, the moon, the king makes fertile there above.
Now he makes the sky, the heat, the sun, and the moon favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
Going up, he makes the dew, the heat, the sun, the moon favorable.
Now he makes dew, the heat, the sun, the moon favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The chiefs, the chiefesses he makes favorable in the country.
Now the king makes the chiefs, the chiefesses favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
Worms, earwigs, beetles, the king makes fertile in the country.
Now he makes the worms, the earwigs, the beetles favorable, he makes them grow in the country.

643 The first fruits of all the products of the land were presented to the king
241 with great ceremony (described by Roussel, 190, p. 360). "Only the king could initiate the harvesting of crops which were tapu as long as he ordered them to be."

643 Certain priestly functions related to nature were incumbent on the king.
782 In time of drought he must send his son or another *ariki-paka* to perform rites beseeching Hiro to make rain fall. It may be assumed that the king also prayed to Hiro for rain, that he had something to do with the fertilizing of the fields, and that his power was beneficial to chickens.

SUPERVISION OF SEMI-RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

643 Assisted by a priest, the king had to eat in every house before it could
845 be occupied by its owners. He also had to perform rites on a new boat. All
553 twins were presented to him to be given a "royal name." I was unable to
342 obtain details about this name or the mystical beliefs connected with twins.

643 Tradition tells that the recently tattooed young men gathered in Anakena and exhibited their designs to the king who sat on the head of an old image
304 to examine them. If he was satisfied with the work of the artist, he said to the young man, "Ka hoa ki Tuna-roa" (Go to the ahu Tuna-roa), but if he

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contained a very sweet juice which the inhabitants presented to us very frequently, and particularly whenever we asked for something to drink." Only fifty years ago the natives quenched their thirst during their journeys with sugar cane. Even more recently uncultivated sugar cane has been found on several parts of the island. The juice was used as an ointment or as an adhesive upon which pigments were stuck in face painting, and the leaves served as hut coverings. Sugar cane was consumed in great quantities during the feasts. The name for a fragment of sugar cane planted in the soil is *pupura*.

Bananas

All early travelers (186, p. 13; 90, p. 101; 53, vol. 1, p. 288) mention bananas, *maika* (*Musa sapientum*), as products offered by the islanders for trade. They were extensively cultivated, for some Spaniards under Gonzalez (90, p. 123) visited a plantation near Vinapu "which stretched about a quarter of a league in extent, and was about half that distance in breadth." Lisiansky (143, p. 86) noticed that "every house was planted round with bananas and sugar cane."

The trees in these plantations were disposed "in the order called quincunx" (130, vol. 2, p. 259) and "planted in straight lines by the cord" (130, vol. 1, p. 76). According to G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 571), who went through some plantations near the present Hanga-roa, "the bananas were all growing in holes one foot deep, which were supposed to be contrived for collecting rain, and preserving it for a longer time about the plant." A century later, Thomson (215, p. 456) states that "bananas are grown in holes a foot or more deep and with sloping sides, designed to catch and hold the rain water as long as possible about the roots of the plant." Whenever it was possible natural cavities were utilized, in which decayed branches and leaves made a thick layer of fertile humus. The richest banana plantations of today are located on the west coast near the leper house and the ancient village of Ana-o-hoka, between ahu Akapu and Ahu-te-peu. There, in some places the lava crust which covered enormous subterranean cavities has sunk, forming holes about 10 to 15 feet deep. Trees planted there in former days thrived on a rich, damp soil, protected from the sea winds.

At present the natives count ten varieties of bananas, some of which have recently come from Tahiti: *maika-pukapuka, maika-korotea, maika-hihi, maika-pia, maika-naho-a, maika-pahu* (today extinct), *maika-puru-ino, maika-rio, maika-perora, maika-hiva* (a foreign variety), and *maika-tamoa* (introduced from Samoa). The fruit is still an important staple food of the Easter Islanders. In the past it must have been even more important. The shoots of banana used for planting were called *huri*.

Dried banana leaves (*kaka*) were once used as house coverings and the

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of crabs: ***pikea-uri, pikea-nahenahe, pikea-tutu-au, pikea-tura-moa, pikea-paki-maroa,*** and ***pikea-toetoe.***

Sea urchins (***hatuke***) are plentiful along the coast. Natives crush them between two stones and boil them. In olden days trepangs or bêche-de-mer (***pipiri***) were eaten after their skins had been rubbed off. A big Coelenterata (***otaki***) is said to have been eaten. I saw the natives eat another mollusk known as ***takatore-pare.***

Islanders are still fond of small shellfish, ***pipipipi-uriuri, pipi-vaka, pipi-ekaeka, pipi-nehenehe, pipi-momoko, ningoningo.*** Shells of sea snails are found in great quantities near ancient settlements and in caves.

HOUSES

Easter Islanders lived in thatched houses, in semi-underground houses, or in caves. All their dwellings were uncomfortable; the low houses were overcrowded, the caves dark and wet. Such indifference to comfort is not astonishing when one remembers that the natives lived mostly out-of-doors and that the houses were shelters for the night or for rainy days only. Scarcity of wood is partly responsible for the crudeness of the huts, but nothing prevented the building of more stone houses of the Orongo type. Though today all the islanders have frame houses, they are small and crowded. A few modern houses are built of stone, but this type is becoming obsolete.

CAVES

COASTAL CAVES

The coasts of Easter Island, especially along the west and north, are perforated with caves (***ana***), which have been used by the islanders either as permanent dwellings or as shelters for the night during fishing expeditions. When they are overtaken by darkness far from their homes, the natives go to sleep in the nearest cave.

Thomson, Routledge, and I have excavated the ground of several coastal caves and found hooks, bone needles, and wrought bone fragments, indicating that those caves were once occupied by day and that fishermen used them as workshops. Some caves, especially that of Ovahe, seem to have been arranged for longer occupancy. The entrances are protected by stone walls, and inside are stone platforms on which to sleep. Some of these platforms are covered with a layer of straw—testimony that the natives still sleep there. The largest of these caves is Ana-havea on the south coast.

INLAND CAVES

The name ***hare-kionga*** designates inland caves or subterranean lava tubes, where defeated people are said to have taken refuge during wars. That this was the essential purpose of these strange dwellings we do not know, but the

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artificial widening of the entrance, lined with smooth slabs, indicates the former use of these natural galleries by men.

The first of these subterranean dwellings I visited lies behind ahu Ohau. The opening, just wide enough to let a man pass, is lined with stones. A passage leads to a room which is too low to stand in. The first room continues into a long tunnel, which I partially explored without finding anything of interest.

A cave of exactly the same type is found on the north coast at Vai-tara-kai-tu, where caves are numerous. The access is through a narrow pit faced with stone. At the end of the pit there is a large, damp chamber, from which opens a very long gallery. This I followed for some distance without reaching its end. A few yards from here is a big cave with a carved stone near the opening. The walls of the cave are covered with petroglyphs which have been copied by Lavachery.

There are two important *hare-kionga* near the ancient village of Paravovo, between Hanga-o-honu Bay and Tonga-riki. The entrance to one is through a shaft 2.5 meters deep, whose walls are formed of hewn stones, tightly fitted. This shaft leads to a room nearly 7 meters long, 5 meters wide, and about 1 meter high. The shaft to the other cave is a little deeper. It forms the entrance to a small, narrow, and low room. On one side, a little passage opens into a sort of hall, 12 meters long. One side of the entrance has been faced with stone.

The most remarkable of the subterranean houses is that of ahu Vai-mata. Its existence is revealed by a low mound paved with boulders. A shaft 2 meters deep and lined with stones joins a horizontal passage, also flagged with carefully dressed stone, which is so low that one must crawl through it. The chamber to which it leads is oval and about 2.5 meters high. One side is natural rock and the other is faced with carefully laid stones. A platform at the back probably served as a bed. In this cave, as in many others, we found skeletons. The top of the cave has been roofed over with slabs where otherwise it would be open to the sky.

Between Vai-mata and Anakena, I visited several semi-natural houses. The roof of one was an enormous rock which had fallen in such a way that between it and the ground was a space hardly sufficient to shelter a squatting man. Despite its size, this shelter had been transformed into a permanent dwelling, as testified by the stone walls which close it on every side.

Frequently statues, which have fallen down the slopes of an ahu, are used as roofs for shelters, with stones heaped up on the sides forming walls. At Vai-mata and at Ahu-te-pito-te-kura the earth beneath fallen statues has been excavated. At ahu Vinapu a similar dwelling is reached by two narrow passages leading into a long and waterproof room. Such dwellings are undoubtedly very old and may perhaps have been built before the arrival of Europeans.

At Hanga-roa Bay, behind what is now ahu Okahu and close to a watch-tower (*tupa*), Cook (83, vol. 1, p. 570) saw a subterranean room; but natives barred his entrance. Frenchmen of the La Pérouse expedition were allowed to visit this cave and Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 255) made a plan of it to which he adjoined a technical description:

This subterranean chamber was entered by a sloping passage lined with stones (2 feet 10 inches long, 2 feet broad, and 10 inches thick) which terminated at a staircase formed by hewn stones. The door leading to the inner chamber consisted of uprights, a cornice and a sill made of stones "very well squared and fitted together without cement." The inner room had an oval form comparable to that of the ordinary thatched huts. Its dimensions were as follows: length, 30 feet; width at the middle, 11 feet; height in the center, 5 feet 6 inches; width of the door, 2 feet; height of the door, 3 feet.

Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 255), the only ancient traveler who entered one of the underground dwellings, says that "in these subterraneous caverns the

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342 inhabitants store their provisions, utensils, wood, and in general all their possessions." The fear lest foreigners should rob them of their goods explains, no doubt, why the natives prohibited Captain Cook and his companions from entering the underground house described by Bernizet.

It seems unlikely that defeated people hid in caves whose entrances were visible and whose locations were known by everyone in near-by villages. Possibly the caves were occupied by the inhabitants of a village in time of war, either in an effort to escape being burned alive in their grass houses, or after their homes had been burned.

To judge by the readiness with which the inhabitants of Easter Island, and for that matter all Polynesians, accepted almost any kind of shelter, it seems fairly certain that the caves served as dwellings. The interior arrangement and the care taken in construction of passages further strengthens this opinion. On that point we have the formal testimony of Gonzalez (90, p. 102):

> Most of the natives of the islands dwell in underground caves, or in the hollow of some rocks, the entrances to which are so narrow and inconvenient that I have seen some of them introduce themselves in the opposite manner to what is natural, beginning by projecting their feet first, their heads last . . .
>
> . . . Others (whom I believe to be their ministers), occupy dwellings close to the statues; these are built of earth below, but with an entrance way or porch of very roughly hewn and clumsily set up stones, after the fashion of a wall, with a certain number of steps for passing from one platform or surface ground to another, at different levels.

Thatched Houses

Dwelling Houses

The shape of the Easter Island house has been repeatedly compared to an overturned boat with upward pointing keel. It consisted of a roof resting directly on the ground and supported by a framework composed of the following elements: a ridgepole (*hahanga* or *hakarava*), ridgeposts (*pou* or *tuu*), rafters (*oka*), purlins (*kaukau*), and the central post (*tonga*). The curved rafters were either stuck into the ground or fixed in holes along rows of curbstones.

Stone Foundations

342 172 Stone foundations of some of the ancient huts may still be seen behind Ahu-te-peu, at Puna-marengo, near Hangoteo, at Anakena, Hanga-o-honu, on the outer slopes of the Rano-raraku, and on several spots along the south coast. They are formed by wrought basalt curbs (*paenga*, pl. 3, *A*).

These stone curbs were made of the porphoritic olivine basalt of Rano-aroi. This rock was easily worked by primitive methods owing to its vesicular and coarse texture. The same rock was utilized for the cut and fitted blocks in the structure of the ahus (11, p. 1598).

The size of the stone curbs varies considerably; some are only 0.5 meter long, others are 2.5 meters or more; the average breadth is between 20 and 30 cm. As most of these

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curbs are firmly embedded in the ground, it is difficult to estimate their total height; generally they rise 1 foot above the ground. Their depth underground must be between 30 cm. and 1 meter. The unseen part is generally roughly carved and thicker than the upper part, which has sharp angles and smooth surfaces. The upper face of each slab has 2 or 3 (rarely 4 or 5) cup-shaped depressions. These cavities, in which rafters were inserted, are 5 to 8 cm. deep with a diameter of 2.5 to 5 cm. The distance between them is variable.

The curbstones are embedded to form a complete oval (pl. 3, *A*). In a few houses the end curbs (*pisi hare paenga*) are curved (fig. 15, *b*), so that the foundation may be continuous. However, most houses are sharply pointed at the ends with a small space left between the two end curbs.

The number of curbstones composing the foundation depends on the size of the house and the length of the curbs. The large hut seen by La Pérouse had, according to his plan, 70 curbs. Other houses of more modest size had from 15 to 18 curbs.

In the middle of the seaward side is an opening corresponding to a door.

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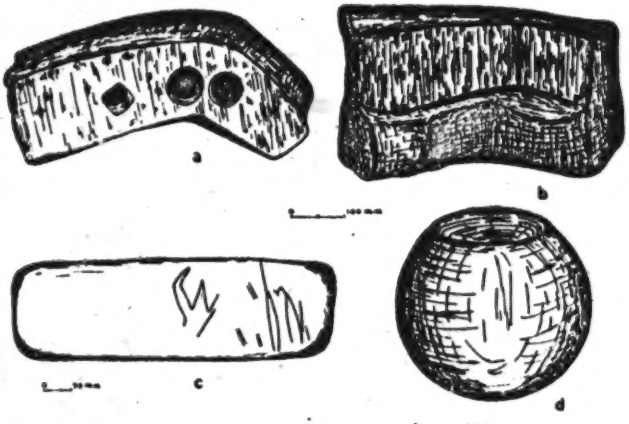

FIGURE 15.—Curbstones and household furniture. *a-b*, corner curbstone of the bird-man's house at Rano-raraku: *a*, top view showing holes for ends of rafters; *b*, side view; 580 mm. long, 290 mm. high, 190 mm. wide; *c*, ground rectangular stone pillow (*ngorua*), with incised figures representing a vulva and a bird without head (a line terminating in a fork incised on the other side), 250 mm. long, 860 mm. wide, 52 mm. thick (B3598); *d*, calabash (*ipu*) for drinking water, 72 mm. high, 85 mm. wide (B3567).

Few stone foundations are seen today because houses with stone foundations were not the most common type. They were the expression of wealth. It was easier and cheaper to stick rafters into the ground, though there was always the danger that rain, running down the slopes of the volcanoes, might penetrate into the house. Also, many foundations have been destroyed both before and after the occupation of the island by Europeans. In time of war a triumphant party would take as booty the curbs of the houses of the de-

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342 172 feated people. Thus tradition states that a heavy stone, measuring 15 feet, which is near an ahu on the south coast, had been brought all the way from the north side of the island (194, p. 216).

342 Curbstones have frequently been included in the fabric of later buildings. The front of Ahu-te-peu has many curbs embedded in its structure; some have been used to prop up the enormous slabs on which the statues stood. That fact, by the way, indicates very clearly that the carvers of the big statues lived in houses identical to those of their descendants.

The masonry of some wells (those of La Pérouse especially) is composed of curbstones torn from ancient houses. Of late, a great number of the slabs has been used in the construction of sheep corrals or for foundations for the frame houses in which the natives now live.

Among the early visitors to the island, only Forster and La Pérouse describe curbstones. G. Forster's evidence (83, vol. 1, p. 570) is accurate, except in the length (1 foot) assigned to slabs. Apparently by the middle of the nineteenth century the custom of resting ridge posts on stones had fallen into oblivion. Not one of the travelers or missionaries who described the island at that time alludes to it. Nevertheless Routledge (194, p. 216) knew old men "who were born and brought up in these houses."

Framework

According to tradition, the frame of the house was made of *toro-miro* wood, but *hau* (*Triumfetta semitriloba*), *marikuru* (*Sapindus saponaria*), or *makoi* (*Thespesia populnea*) woods were also used. In small huts, the purlins were frequently ti stalks. Scarcity of wood on the island did not allow the natives to specialize in any one kind of material. However we must not exaggerate the flimsiness of these structures. The Spaniards under Gonzalez (90, p. 123) visited a house whose doorway was framed "on some six poles of 4 varas [yards] long and a span in thickness." The structure of the ancient houses is known through the short but precise description by Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 256), engineer of the La Pérouse expedition. He had an opportunity to study a long house, probably an assembly house, which was in process of construction near the present village of Hanga-roa:

> The rafters were slender poles fixed at their lower ends in the holes of the stone curbs. They were bent over and crossed at their upper ends with the opposite rafters, being lashed to the ridgepole structure. This disposition, well remembered by the natives, accounts for the narrowness of the houses. The middlemost rafters were the highest and sometimes reached 10 feet, though 6 feet was the average height. The other rafters gradually diminished in length, those at the ends of the house being hardly 2 feet high. Thus the roof of the house formed a long arch. This semi-elliptical shape was not invariable, for some huts made "towards the middle, either in the ground plan or the elevation, a sharper curvature than that of the ellipsis." The stakes which formed the ridgepole were supported by ridgeposts fixed in the ground at intervals of 10 feet. The need for ridgeposts is explainable only if we remember that, owing to the scarcity of wood, the rafters must have been of poor quality.

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Judging from the holes in the curbs, rafters were numerous; if they all joined a main post the interior of the house must have been rather obstructed by them. The rafters were connected by purlins "reaching along the whole length at two feet distance from each other." They gave strength to the whole structure and supported the thatching.

To build a house is *hato*, the term used in other parts of Polynesia for thatching. The Easter Island vocabularies give *hakomanga* for roof. The end of the house was called *pini*. The central ridgepost is said to have had magic in it, though present natives are unable to tell how it was manifest. The different elements of the frame were lashed together with ropes of *hau* bark (*hahau*) and great care was taken that the number of knots used in lashing should be odd, for fear of the bad luck connected with even figures.

On Easter Island, wood was a precious and rare material, so when a house had to be abandoned because of fleas, "it was lifted by a dozen men who carried it to another spot, fastening it with poles stuck into the ground" (230, vol. 6, p. 122).

Thatching

Roggeveen (186, p. 118) describes the thatching of houses in the following terms:

> . . . Then the interstices, which are all of oblong shape, are closed up and covered over with a sort of rush or long grass, which they put on very thickly, layer upon layer, and fasten on the inner side with lashing . . . so that they are always as well shut in against wind and rain as those who live beneath thatched roofs in Holland.

According to Tepano, who saw houses of ancient type in his youth, the thatch (*hatunga*) was made of three superimposed layers:

> The first was a covering of mats (*moenga*); the second, a layer of sugar-cane leaves (*rau tou*); the third, a layer of grass (*mauku-ato*). The mats extended on the frame were similar to sleeping mats and were made of rushes (*Scirpus riparius*) sewn together with *hau* cords. The accuracy of this statement is borne out by Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 256): "The whole [structure] is covered with rushes of nine or ten lines diameter at the lower end, united together like mats, by threads twisted with the hand." The use of sugar cane is mentioned by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 570), who describes the thatching as composed of "small sticks [purlins], and covered with a neat mat-work of sugar cane leaves, leaned on each row of stakes, forming a very sharp ridge or angle at the top and resting firmly on the ground at the bottom." The word "mat-work" may suggest that the Easter Islanders employed for thatching a method widely known in the rest of Polynesia (Cook Islands, Tahiti, Samoa, etc.) which consisted in covering the house with sheets made by doubling pandanus or sugar-cane leaves over a length of cane and sewing them together with a slender rod or coconut midrib. The threading of the midribs through the leaves is termed *tui* on Mangareva; and the verb *tuitui* means, on Easter Island, to "tie together, bind together." The number of purlins used in the framework is more appropriate for lashing of bundles of leaves and of grass than for the simple covering of sugar-cane sheets. Geiseler (87, p. 39), who did not see houses of the old type but describes them from information received, says that the frame was of *toro-miro* wood and that the intervals between the elements "were interwoven" with dry banana leaves (which he erroneously calls *hau*), then covered with sugar-cane stalks and leaves, and finally with long grass. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 122) likewise states that the huts were thickly covered with reed, sugar-cane stalks, or other grass so that the rain could not percolate into the interior. Neither description refers to sheets or mats, nor do they stress any differences in the way these layers were put on. My informant asserted that

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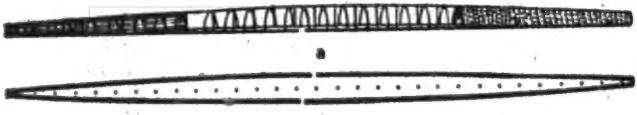
342 the bunches of grass (*mouku*) were laid against the purlins and lashed to the framework by means of banana bark strips. In the few houses that are still thatched, the grass or rushes are extended on the purlins in bundles and tied with string ("horizontal method"). Poles, parallel to the purlins and nailed to the rafters, hold the grass on the roof.

Small and cheaply built huts, retaining some features of the old ones, were made of reeds until quite recently.

Door

Formerly the door, *papare* (*haha, pu*; door opening), was always in the middle of one side of the house. It was a "hole about eighteen inches or two feet high, over which the people had built a round projecting funnel to keep off the wet" (83, vol. 1, p. 570). The porch was low and narrow "just to admit a man to enter upon all fours." (See 53, vol. 1, p. 292 and 186, p. 18.)

The house figured by La Pérouse (fig. 16), with a door located in the middle of each side but not directly opposite each other, was quite exceptional. Two parallel curbs in front of the door formed the basis of the porch mentioned by early voyagers. One of the old informants of Routledge (194, p. 216) told her that in addition to the main door there was an opening near each end by which the food was introduced, and then passed from hand to hand. Legends tell of characters escaping through this opening.



a

b

FIGURE 16.—*a*, large house in course of construction: length 310 ft. greatest width 10 ft., height at center 10 ft., height at ends 4 ft., width at ends 3 ft. (after La Pérouse, Atlas, pl. 12, figs. 5, 6); *b*, curbstones of house (*a*).

Loti (146, p. 265) says that he entered the house of a chief "whose door was guarded by two idols of granite." Probably this chief carved statuettes of soft stone for sale to travelers, and simply wanted to decorate the entrance of his house with the products of his art. However, two small stone pillars stood on each side of the entrance of a house with stone foundation at Ahu-te-peu (fig. 17). It seems very likely that the tops of these pillars were carved into human forms. Some stone houses at Orongo, which reproduce exactly the shape of the thatched huts, have entrances ornamented with carved stone pillars. According to Tepano, the ancient islanders placed wooden figures representing lizards on each side of the porches leading to their huts. The door was closed by a net with meshes small enough to prevent chickens from entering. After European contact, the door was located, by preference, at one end of the hut.

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Pavement

In front of the house a semicircular space from 2 to 3 meters wide at the broadest part was paved with big rounded pebbles (*purevu*). There people spent their days working, chatting, or eating. The paved space (*paepae*) was sometimes decorated with small coral rocks. Roggeveen (186, p. 18) says that he saw "round about their dwellings certain big blocks of hewn stones, three or four feet in breadth, and fitted together in a singularly neat and even manner; and according to our judgement, these serve them for a stoop on which to sit and chat during the cool of the evening." 342

FIGURE 17.—Entrance to a house at Ahu-te-peu, showing two small pillars at each side of entrance, and curbstones with holes for rafters.

Interior of House

The inside of the house was dark and bare says Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 570): 342 362

We crept on all fours into this opening and found the inside of the hut perfectly naked and empty, there being not so much as a wisp of straw to lie down upon. We could not stand upright in any part except just in the middle, and the whole place appeared dark and dismal. The natives told us they passed the night in these huts, and we easily conceived their situation to be uncomfortable, especially as we saw so very few of them that they must be crammed full, unless the generality of the people lie in open air, and leave these wretched dwellings to their chiefs, or make use of them only in bad weather.

The most vivid description of hut interiors is given by Eyraud (81, p. 60), who slept in them several nights: 342 362 513

Imagine a half open mussel, resting on the edge of its valves and you will have an idea of the form of that cabin. Some sticks covered with straw form its frame and roof. An oven-like opening allows its inhabitants to go inside as well as the visitors who have to creep not only on all fours but on their stomachs. This indicates the center of the building and lets enter enough light to see when you have been inside for a while. You have no idea how many Kanacs may find shelter under that thatch roof. It is rather hot inside, if you make abstraction of the little disagreements caused by the deficient cleanliness of the natives and the community of goods which inevitably introduces itself. . . . But by night time, when you do not find other refuge, you are forced to do as others do. Then everyone takes his place, the position being indicated to each by the nature of the spot. The door, being in the center, determines an axis which divides the hut into two equal parts. The heads, facing each other on each side of that axis, allow enough room between them to let pass those who enter or go out. So they lie breadthwise, as commodiously as possible, and try to sleep.

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An old man showed Routledge (194, p. 216) how they slept in the huts: "This was parallel to the long axis of the house, the head being towards the door; the old people were in the center in couples and the younger ones in the ends."

Size of Houses

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The houses must have varied considerably in size. Bernizet (130, vol. 2, pp. 256-257), after describing one of 300 feet, says: "The small cabins are of the ordinary form; the most of them so very small as not without difficulty to afford room enough for six persons."

The largest house on Easter Island of which dimensions have been recorded is that figured in La Pérouse's atlas (130, vol. 2, p. 256) and reproduced here (fig. 16). This enormous hut, which could easily shelter 200 individuals, was probably a community house (*hare-nui*). Judging by their remains, ancient houses were generally 10 to 15 meters long and 1.5 to 2 meters broad, giving shelter to about 30 persons. The largest house foundation measured is 40 meters long and 4 meters wide. These figures correspond roughly to estimates made by early visitors to the island (186, p. 17; 5, p. 356; 15, vol. 1, p. 55; 146, p. 274).

Disappearance of Ancient Houses

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In 1877 Pinart (178, p. 238) noticed that most of the huts were made of wood from wrecked ships and in the fashion of European cabins. At that time, few reed houses were to be seen in Hanga-roa. This change in the type of house was caused by the wrecking of a ship loaded with timber from Oregon. Under the guidance of a Danish carpenter, the natives built plank houses 25 feet long and 15 feet wide. Most of the buildings received light through very small doors, but some had windows and windowpanes. The roofs were made of planks or covered with banana leaves or long grass. The floors were of earth or covered with straw. In 1886 "several rough bedsteads and chests" were already in use (215, p. 454).

The small grass huts, which survived until 1917 (208, vol. 1, pl. 10), have now disappeared. The Easter Islanders who were deported to Tahiti early in the twentieth century erected huts in the old native style. However, many details of the structure show pronounced Tahitian influences (7, pl. 9). Modern houses on Easter Island are made of planks imported from Chile, and built on short piles to escape the humidity and the annoyance of rats. They are divided into rooms and provided with heterogeneous furniture from Chile. The old thatch roofs have been replaced by corrugated iron. Near the house is generally a little shed where cooking is done, mostly on small metal stoves imported from Chile. Tepano was the only islander to use stones in the construction of his hut, and was one of the few who slept on the floor.

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Household Furniture

The furniture in the ancient huts was extremely scanty, consisting of mats spread on the floor, stone pillows (*ngarua*), calabashes for water (fig. 15, *d*), baskets for food, and wooden images or tablets hanging from the thatching. Mats (*moenga*) were made of reed (pl. 2, *C*) and the fine specimens were highly valued. In modern houses, people who have no matress sleep on layers of grass, called *heriki* when used for this purpose. Their ancestors are said to have covered themselves with grass. The square stone pillows (fig. 15, *c*) were often decorated with straight lines or with the stylized representation of the vulva. Such pillows were not used elsewhere in Polynesia where wood was abundant. A single specimen of a carved stone pillow has been found in Hawaii (25, p. 125, fig. 102).

Community Houses

Wealthy people built special large houses called *hare-nui* to shelter their guests during a feast (*koro*). There must have existed a sort of competition between the feast givers as to who could erect the largest *koro* house. As on Mangareva, they were decorated with images (see p. 262).

Kitchen Shelters

Tepano assured me, though I could not verify his statement, that the ancient inhabitants of the island sometimes erected simple shelters to protect them from wind and rain. They placed in the ground seven rafters (*oka matua*) whose lower ends were curbed and upper ends tied to a horizontal pole (*hahaga*) supported by two vertical posts (*oka pou*). Horizontal sticks were tied to the rafters; then the whole structure was covered with reeds (*ngaatu*), sugar-cane leaves (*rau toa*), and grass (*mauku*). These easily constructed huts were readily abandoned and were probably analogous to the light structures built around the oven to form a kitchen. The oven was "palisadoed to the windward" (130, vol. 2, p. 256). People enjoyed sitting in front of or around the cooking place, where the men took their meals (87, p. 39).

Boat Houses

Near the pier of Hanga-roa are some sheds where the islanders keep their boats. With the exception of the thatched roof, nothing in the structure of such sheds is old. The roof, which is supported by stakes set at wide intervals, is composed of transverse sticks between which meager bunches of straw are stuck. The walls are made of piled stones.

Comparison with Other Polynesian Thatched Houses

The general shape of the Easter Island thatched house resembles the small, low huts with elliptical floor plan of the Tuamotus (in former days) and Rapa. The curving walls formed by bent rafters of Easter Island houses are

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also typical of Tuamotuan, Rapan, and Mangarevan houses. In the Tuamotuan house the ridgepole rests on or is suspended from curved rafters, but there are no ridgeposts and the horizontal ridgepole is of one piece. Rapan houses have only one curved wall, formed by curved rafters sunk into the ground at one end and lashed to the ridgepole at the other; the other side of the roof rests on a wall plate. Mangarevan houses have a curved rear wall, somewhat different from the Marquesan which is slanting. The curved walls are also similar to those of canoe houses of the widespread Polynesian type (Samoa, Society Islands, Rapa, etc.). However, the structure of the canoe house resulted from the necessity of having a roof with no ridgeposts to interfere when the outrigger canoe was hauled into the shed. Consequently this type of house can hardly be used for comparative purposes.

The funnel-like door of Easter Island houses is unparalleled in Polynesia and must be considered as a local development. The position of the door in the middle of the side links the Easter Island house more closely with the Mangarevan or the Rapan type than with the Tuamotuan which had the door at one or both ends.

The thatching technique of Easter Island in which bundles of grass are lashed to horizontal battens is called by Buck (ms. in B. P. Bishop Museum) the "horizontal method." This technique was used in Hawaii, New Zealand, and the eastern Tuamotus. Buck holds that the horizontal method was more ancient than the "vertical oblique" method used in central Polynesia, and that it was brought by the early groups of people into Polynesia, where it survived in the marginal areas.

Easter Island is the only place in Polynesia where rafters were sunk in the upper surface of stone curbs, but stone curbs outlining the house occur commonly in Mangareva and occasionally in the Society (77, p. 105) and Hawaiian islands.

Since houses with stone curbs were not the most common, pavement cannot be considered a fundamental feature of the Easter Island houses. Pavements in front of the houses existed on Mangareva, in the Cook Islands (33, p. 2), occasionally in Rapa, and in the Society Islands (77, p. 12). The Marquesan and Hawaiian houses which rested on stone platforms had in front of them an open terrace evenly paved. In dry and level places certain Marquesan houses were built on a simple pavement (141, p. 272).

These comparisons show that the Easter Island house does not stand as an isolated type in Polynesia. Unique features are the result of local conditions and the dearth of suitable material for house building. The most characteristic of these aberrant features is the curving of the ridgepole. Such form was imposed by the lack of rafters of equal length which could have maintained the ridgepole horizontal.

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Stone Houses

CHICKEN HOUSES

Ancient Easter Island hen houses (*hare moa*) were rectangular heaps of stones with a long, narrow, chamber reached by two long, narrow passages. Anyone intending to steal had to remove the stones and consequently make a noise which would attract the owners. Near the ancient village of Vai-tara-kai-ua is a hen house still in good condition. 235 343 172

The lower part is made of basalt blocks heaped and adjusted with great care. The size of the stones decreases toward the top, and the upper part is composed of small stones, piled at random. The whole building is rectangular with both ends slightly curved. Two small passages lead to the central chamber. One of the entrances is surmounted by an arched stone. Under the opening two superimposed stones make a kind of staircase. The structure is 7.3 meters long, 3.3 meters wide, and 1.8 meters high.

STONE HOUSES AT ORONGO

A detailed survey of the village of Orongo was made by the Routledge expedition (195). It is briefly summarized here. The houses composing the village of Orongo stretch in two rows along the narrow ridge between the crater and the sea cliff on the southern rim of Rano-kao. At one point, the two rows overlap one another. 361

The houses are made of slabs which come from a natural quarry below the village on the crater side (pl. 3, *B*). The rock "is a fine grained volcanic sandstone bedded in large laminae." Despite numerous variations, these houses are all built according to the same general pattern. They have an oval or elliptical ground plan and their structure, like that of the thatched houses, suggests the form of an upturned canoe. The back walls rest against rocks or the slope of the volcano rim. In some places the ground has been excavated to obtain a level space. The foundations are made of rough cubes of stone, laid in the form of an oval. The inner side of the foundation course is lined with large vertical slabs which are set on edge and diminish in height from the center to the ends. The walls which have an average thickness of 1.5 to 1.8 meters, are remarkably solid. They are made of small or shattered fragments, "laid in horizontal course with broken joints." The spaces between the courses are filled flush with small stones. The back wall is lined on the outside with rough, wedge-shaped slabs, held in place by earth filled against them. The front wall has no external vertical slabs. The masonry has niches and shelves. There is sometimes a hatch between two adjoining houses and certain of them have inner annexes. The slabs or laminae set above the walls are "imbricated or 'tumble-home' till the opening is reduced to such a size that it can be spanned by a series of single slabs, thus completing the arch or roof. For these roofing slabs the curved laminae are chosen, and they are often of such dimensions that ten men would be required to move a single slab into place." 342●

Like the thatched huts, these stone houses have the door in the middle of one side. This doorway is a sort of tunnel, lined on all sides by slabs, with two uprights and a lintel at the entrance. Some houses have a sill, formed by a slab sunk vertically into the ground, so that its upper edge is flush with the surface of the door. Some houses have two apertures, and in a few the aperture is double, the two passages being side by side.

When finished, these houses are covered with a thick layer of soil (at places 70 cm. deep). The slabs opposite the door are painted with representations of birds, European boats, dancing paddles, or the figure of the god with big eyes. Lintels or slabs in the houses are frequently covered with engraved vulvas. Outside a house there may be pits lined with stones, which serve as ovens or storage places.

The size of these houses varies greatly. The largest measures about 10 meters by

l: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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342 6 meters and the smallest, 2.56 by 1.2 meters. The height is between 1.3 and 2 meters. There are 49 such houses.

The last houses of the lower row overlap the carved rocks of Oronga and were built after the sculptures were made.

Among the stones used in building the village of Orongo are some curbs from the thatched huts. Like Routledge, I think that the natives first tried to build thatched huts at Orongo. When they realized that such houses could not withstand the winds, they utilized the laminae of the quarry near by, applying a technique which they had learned in building ahus. It is nevertheless quite surprising that they retained the general plan derived from wooden and grass huts. The village of Orongo is a local development and an improvement on previously known methods.

CANOES

501 Early visitors to Easter Island were surprised to find canoes there, as the barrenness of the country seemed little fitted to provide wood for construction. All those who describe Easter Island canoes manifest the same admiration for the ingenious and patient way small pieces of wood had been assembled to make the hull. "Their canoes," writes Roggeveen (186, p. 19), "are fitted together of small boards and light frames, which they skilfully lace together with very fine laid twine made from the above mentioned vegetable product, piet." One of Gonzalez's officers estimated that these "narrow boards" were "about a cuarta [roughly a span] in width" and were fastened together with wooden pegs. This statement probably refers to small patches inserted with pegs to mend imperfections in the wood. Cook (53, vol. 1, pp. 292-293) noticed in the structure of one canoe "a board 6 or 7 feet long, 14 inches broad at one end, and 8 at the other; whereas we did not see a stick on the island that would have made a board half that size; nor indeed was there another piece in the whole canoe, half so big." This big plank was either left by Gonzalez or was a piece of driftwood. La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 76) describes the planks of the canoes as very narrow and 4 or 5 feet long. In 1886, Thomson (215, p. 474) saw in a cave two very old canoes which were used as coffins. They were made of several kinds of wood which do not grow on Easter Island and therefore must have been driftwood. In general, sources agree as to the form of the hull.

The canoes were very narrow and had raised and curved stem and stern pieces and a comparatively low middle (186, p. 19; 53, vol. 1, p. 292; 83, vol. 1, p. 558). The boat depicted by La Pérouse (fig. 18, *a*) complies with this description. It has upturned ends but the projections are broad, flat, and rounded instead of being pointed as indicated by Roggeveen. Choris' sketches (fig. 18, *b*, *c*) indicate that both ends of the canoe were extended, resembling a narrow bowsprit. In Hornell's estimation (109, p. 98) this projection is about 15 inches long.

The outrigger (*ama*) is mentioned in the report of Gonzalez's expedition and is described by Forster as made of three slender poles (two booms and a float). In the original drawing by La Pérouse's artist, Blondela, the distal ends of the two slender booms are forked and fit over the float to which they are lashed. The proximal ends of the booms are attached to the gunwales. One of the canoes sketched by Choris (fig. 18, *b*) has a double outrigger formed of short, thin booms resting horizontally on the gunwales and supporting two slender floats. Another (fig. 18, *c*) shows no float but

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would make them convenient for polishing wood, but such a use is quite hypothetical. Three rectangular stones in the collection of Bishop Museum (B3546), labeled "idols", may have been fetish stones.

A small boulder in the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadero, Paris, has a human face pecked on one side (fig. 55, *b*). The nose is on the same plane as the forehead. The protruding eyes are oval with a central round depression representing the pupil. The mouth is weakly indicated. The back surface is rough, as if it had been broken. A similar rough head is figured by Thomson (215, pl. 51, fig. 1) with protruding cheek bones and a large mouth. I saw another small stone suggesting a coarse pounder which had a very rudimentary human figure on the upper side. This was probably also a talisman.

Images for Protection of Houses

The low entrances of houses were guarded by images of wood or of bark cloth, representing lizards or rarely crayfish. The bark cloth images were made over frames of reed, and were called *manu-uru*, a name given also to kites, masks, and masked people. According to my principal informant, there were two of these images, one on either side of the door. Tepano protested violently against the statement of Brown (27, p. 134) that the images housed spirits or *akuaku*. He insisted over and over again that "the *manu-uru* had no significance at all, that they were only ornaments of the house and that nobody but children or women were afraid of them." But one must not discard entirely the possibility that some supernatural power was attributed to the images. Very likely they were believed to protect the dwellers of the house against evil spirits.

Three of these images have been preserved. One is in the Belfast Museum (for description see 214, p. 11, figs. 12-13) and I have examined two others in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge (figs. 30, 31) which are made of plaited bundles of bulrush covered with sheets of tapa sewn over the framework and covering it entirely. The eyes and the ears are separate pieces stitched to the tapa covering. The nails are long sticks and the teeth are pieces of bulrush. The conventional style of the wooden images shows its influence in many details: the strongly aquiline nose, the protruding vertebrae and the two bulky malleoli. Tattooing motifs and facial painting have been carefully reproduced on both images (pp. 238, 239).

The large tapa images erected during the *paina* feasts (p. 344) were almost 4 meters high and a man could climb into them. A member of the La Pérouse Expedition (130) saw near an ahu, "the figure of a child two feet long, with arms crossed and the legs hanging down." This description suggests an image of the type described here.

Tepano contended that the wooden lizards were clubs (*paoa*) used to defend the entrance to the house; the same explanation is given by Geiseler (87, p. 37). Certainly wooden images were associated with house doors and their religious significance may be inferred from the fact that when a new house was built, "the wooden lizards were put formally on each side of the entrance to the porch" (194, p. 243). Possibly the images were pulled out and brandished like clubs when the village was attacked.

Many wooden lizard images have been preserved in museums in America and Europe (fig. 42, *d*). A few of them are genuine but most are clumsy

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Direct evidence that the corpses of the victims were eaten is given by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 117) and Geiseler (87, p. 31) who writes as follows:

> The oldest people remember, and still recall, that war prisoners were eaten. When many of them were caught they were shut into huts built for the purpose in front of the stone idols and they were kept in them and fed until the time of festivities of the victory feast. On occasion of such ceremonies the prisoners were killed in honor of the gods and eaten.

Ceremony to Invoke Rain

A faint memory has been preserved of ceremonies performed to invoke rain from the god Hiro. When a drought threatened crops the people resorted to various magic rites and to the *ariki-paka* (noble priests?) who addressed prayers to the god. According to Routledge (194, p. 242), the people anxious to obtain rain first asked the king for help. The king then sent to the scorched fields a younger son and another *ariki-paka*. No reference to this special choice was made by my modern informants, but Estella (79, p. 21) was also told that the king acted as an intermediary between the people and the priest.

The *ariki-paka* who presided over the ceremony were painted "on one side red, on the other black with a strip down the center" (194, p. 242). They went to the top of a hill, taking seaweed (*miri-tonu*) and pieces of drift coral (*karakama*). The magical significance of this offering of things soaked with sea water is obvious. The priest addressed a prayer to Hiro to obtain rain (*he ako ki te ua*, he sang for rain). A fragment of this prayer is still remembered by the natives:

E te ua, mata-vai roa a Hiro e,	O rain, long tears of Hiro,
Ka hoa mai koe ki raro,	You fall down,
Ka rei mai koe ki raro,	You beat down,
E te ua, mata-vai roa a Hiro e.	O rain, long tears of Hiro.

The natives told Estella (79, p. 31) that the priest remained on the hill where he had made the prayer until rain came, even though he might wait a long time. When the water fell, he descended the hill and ran about so that the rain would follow him and benefit all the land.

Private Rites

Certain rites were observed in behalf of a household or an individual. A new house could not be occupied until suitable rites had been performed and special food eaten in it. The food prepared for this purpose was cooked in a special earth oven and served to the priest in a corner of the new house where he ate alone. There is some evidence that the same duty was likewise incumbent on the king.

Rites for fertility of the fields required priests to bury or spread pieces of coral or seaweed on the plantations. Such charms had a favorable influence on the crop.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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Islands of the Bird Cult

361 136 222 The picturesque site of Orongo was chosen because of its position opposite the islands Motu-nui, Motu-iti, and Motu-kaukau. Two of the islets are almost inaccessible, and it is possible to land on Motu-nui only when the sea is calm. Hundreds of thousands of birds make temporary abode on these solitary rocks, some of them coming for the winter and others for the summer. (See list of birds, p. 18.) The *manu-tara* (sooty tern), whose eggs were the principal objects of the *tangata-manu* feast, arrive from August to October. When I visited the island in November, it was covered with birds nesting on rocks and in the high grasses. Frightened by our arrival, they took flight, swirling around our heads in dense clouds. The natives who had [262] accompanied us gathered in one hour more than a hundred eggs which they ate on the spot.

222 On Motu-nui there are several caves which were occupied by the *hopu* (servants) while they awaited the coming of the *manu-tara* and while they 342 [357] searched for the first eggs.

On the wall of the largest of these caves, which is about 6.5 meters long by 4 meters wide and 2 meters high, there is an incised image of an *ao* (dance paddle) which 342 is 2.4 meters long. With Dr. Lavachery, I discovered another image which figures a 532 *rei-miro* (breastplate) ending in two cocks' heads.

Besides this large cave, the entrance of which is visible, there are other smaller caves with narrow mouths. On the walls of one cave were some incised figures, among them that of a bird now in the Trocadero Museum. From the mouth of the bird protrudes a flame-like design, composed of many lines. This appears to be a conventional representation of the deafening cries of the birds. Another drawing, also taken from this cave and preserved in the Museum du Cinquantenaire at Brussels, shows a man with long ears.

The most spectacular of these caves is entered by a narrow passage descending at a sharp angle. Routledge (194, p. 275) saw five skeletons there, but I noticed only two; they were untouched and lying on a bed of boulders. Over them hung a big red head, carved in the hard mud of the ceiling, more than 500 mm. long and crossed in the lower part by horizontal lines. It resembled the god with big eyes figured in many petroglyphs on the island. Two small heads were seen in the same cave. A double-headed bird, carved in relief, had been partially destroyed by natives or by visitors hunting for curios. Fortunately another bird in the same cave was reproduced by Routledge (194, pl. 17). Neither Routledge nor anyone in our party was able to get information about the unusual presence of skeletons in this cave, which was probably not intended for a burial vault. The ornaments which covered its walls preclude such a possibility. These carvings are coated with red ochre and stand out from a white background which seemed to me to be natural, although Routledge believed it had been painted.

Another of the caves on the islet was believed by Routledge (194, p. 275) to have been transformed into a sepulchre, but the bones must have been thrown out, since I found none there. A statue presented to the British Museum by Routledge is said to [423] have been removed from one of these caves and to have been called Titahanga-o-te-henua. It is purported to have marked the boundary between Tuu and Hotu-iti.

Mataveri

796 The third place closely associated with the ceremonies of the bird cult was Mataveri on the northern slope of Rano-kao, where now stands the house

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A

B

[784]

C

A, STONE FOUNDATION OF A HOUSE; *B*, STONE HOUSE AT ORONGO; *C*, TAPU PILLAR (PIPI-HEREKO) NEAR AHU TONGA-RIKI ON THE SOUTH COAST.

[End Plate III]

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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[583] 585 [177] great majority follow a formalized pattern. At the present time two Chilean-derived marriage ceremonies take place, a civil marriage on a Saturday and a Catholic church marriage on Sunday. However it is on Saturday, after the civil wedding, that the bridegroom's father gives a large feast for both of the extended families involved in the match. It is at this time that the gifts received by the bride's and bridegroom's fathers are formally distributed among their respective families. [583] To aid in this division of the spoils, a "secretary" is appointed to see that each relative receives a gift of value proportionate to the one he originally gave to the gift exchange. All my informants agreed that the marriage gift-exchange ceremony is a period of great and jovial rivalry to see which family has given the biggest and most valuable gifts.

On Sunday evening after the church wedding a general party for the couple is given, and it is at this time that the bridegroom sings a specially composed song [533] to his bride and she, in turn, sings her special song to him, each going to the other's house for the purpose. It is the best of these songs that have been maintained on Easter Island and today compose the more modern corpus of true Easter Island songs.

591 439 648 135 342 Upon the marriage of a young couple they are free to live in the home of either of their parents, or they may build a home of their own. Actually, living with one or another of the parents is a virtual necessity, owing to the fact that all building materials are brought from the continent once a year by the Chilean Navy and the supply has never caught up with the demand. Further hindering construction is the government's rationing system which, though abundantly fair, allows no single family to buy in one year all the material needed to build a home. This system has [596] resulted in the development, or maintenance, of an extended family pooling system in which, if the family is large enough and each draws his rightful ration of building materials, a house can often be built from the total extended family allotment for a single year. It might also be mentioned that in the construction of such a house, any, or all, of the extended family may be called upon for aid.

423 648 Although the building of a house is a problem, a young couple as yet has no difficulty in obtaining land. At the present time the Chilean government allots the use-rights to five hectarias of terrain to each newly married couple. Formerly an Easter Islander could own his land outright, but this is no longer true, the Chilean government retaining title to all land, owing, apparently, to the strategic nature of the island in the event of war.

606 One of the more interesting facets of Easter Island marriage is the position of the father-in-law in the life of the married couple. Of the two male parents-in-law, it is the girl's father who appears to hold the dominant position of power in the

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
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who formed a society, which existed not only on Easter Island but also on other Polynesian islands. In childhood they were taught in special schools to memorize and to recite the lore of their tribe. 212 533

Everywhere in Polynesia the chanters use such an "orator staff." Sometimes, as in New Zealand, the staffs are provided with notches, which are supposed to help in reciting genealogical tables. In the Marquesas, the chanters held, while chanting, a bundle made of string wound about with knotted ends hanging down, which was thought of as containing the substance of the chant though the connection between the words and the contents of the bundle was loose. The bundles symbolized the chants and were in consequence of paramount importance. They were solemnly given to the young people after they had been initiated into the lore of their ancestors. 212 533 171

These facts, I concluded, give us the best clue in the problem of the Easter Island tablets. To its chanters as to the chanters of other islands, the "orator staffs" were the accessories and the symbols of their function. Originally, the designs on the staffs or tablets might have been mnemonic, but later on they lost their exact significance in the minds of the natives and were looked upon merely as simple ornaments or magic symbols. It may be added that even now we can observe on Easter Island a slight relation that has been preserved between design and chant. The natives are in the habit of chanting when they make string figures or cat's cradles. This interpretation of the tablets may not contain the whole truth about them. I offer it rather as the hypothesis which best fits the facts available today, and which harmonizes also with what we know of an underlying tendency in Polynesian civilization. 212 533

But these are not all the questions that have been raised by Easter Island. Some observers have found in the well-carved and well-fitted stones of its sanctuaries likenesses and relations to the ancient remains in Peru, and to account for them have said that there must have been intercourse between these two parts of the world at some period of history. But close study has revealed that between the Peruvian and the island ruins the resemblances do not go beyond the general fact of an exact fitting of the stones. The plan and the structure of the Peruvian buildings are entirely different. In Peru the walls are all of carved stone blocks, whereas in Easter Island they consist of slabs set on edge outside with rubble behind. The only conspicuous architectural achievement of the Easter Islanders was to select the slabs and to dress their corners so that no gap would appear on the surface and impair the general appearance. This they could naturally have learned to do without crossing the Pacific in frail canoes and making the long journey inland to the site of the wonderful ruins in Peru. Moreover, these are certainly far older than the Easter Island sanctuaries. Thus it seems clear that we must 172 114 [342 333]

5: Roggeveen T-5 (1721-1722)1908
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yet the experience of others has taught us that one may not put too much trust in any Indians, as recounted in the Journal of the *Nassau Fleet*, which lost seventeen men on one occasion through the willingness of the natives of *Terra de Feu* to help being mistaken for a proof that they were well disposed.

We then, being baulked from making any sufficiently detailed inquiry, concluded that they must have large hollow flint-stones under the soil, which hold water when they set about boiling anything, and that afterwards they arch it over with stones on which to light the fire, and thus boil their food by means of the heat thrown downwards, until tender. It is also very remarkable that we saw no more than two or three old women, those were wearing a garment reaching from the waist down to below their knees, and another slung on the shoulders: yet so that the skin covering their pendant breasts was bare. But young women and lasses did not come forward amongst the crowd, so that one must believe the jealousy of the men had moved them to hide them away in some distant place in the island[1]. Their houses or huts are without any ornamentation, and have a length of fifty feet and a width of fifteen; the height being nine feet, as it appeared by guess[2]. The construction of their walls, as we saw in the framework of a new building, is begun with stakes which are stuck into the ground and secured straight upright, across which other long strips of wood which I may call laths are lashed, to the height of four or five, thus completing the framework

[1] "They either have but few females among them, or many were restrained from making their appearance, during our stay," says Cook, "for though we saw nothing to induce us to believe the men were of a jealous disposition, or the women afraid to appear in public, something of this kind was probably the case." Cook, Bibl. no. 16.

[2] "The largest house I saw was about sixty feet long, eight or nine feet high in the middle, and three or four at each end, its breadth at these parts was nearly equal to its height." Cook, Bibl. no. 16.

5: Roggeveen T-5 (1721-1722)1908
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342 of the building. Then the interstices, which are all of oblong shape, are closed up and covered over with a sort of rush or long grass, which they put on very thickly, layer upon layer, and fasten on the inner side with lashings (the which they know how to make from a certain field product called *Piet*, very neatly and skilfully, and is in no way inferior to our own thin cord); so that they are always as well shut in against wind and rain as those who live beneath thatched roofs in Holland.

These dwellings have no more than one entrance way, which is so low that they pass in creeping on their knees, being round above, as a vault or archway[1]; the roof is also of the same form. All the chattels we saw before us (for these long huts admit no daylight except through the one entrance-way, and are destitute of windows and closely shut in all round) were mats spread on the floor, and a large flint stone which many of them use for a pillow. Furthermore they had round about their dwellings certain big blocks of hewn stone, three or four feet in breadth, and fitted together in a singularly neat and even manner[2]; and, according to our judgment, these serve them for a stoop[3] on which to sit and chat during the cool of the evening.

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[1] "The door-way is in the middle of one side, formed like a porch and so low and narrow as just to admit a man to enter upon all fours." Cook, Bibl. no. 16.

[333] [2] "They are built, or ratherfaced, with hewn stones of a very large size; and the workmanship is not inferior to the best plain piece of masonry we have in England. They use no sort of cement; yet the joints are exceedingly close and the stones morticed and tenanted one into another, in a very artful manner." Cook, Bibl. no. 16.

"A remarkable circumstance was the junction of these stones, which were laid after the most excellent rules of art, fitting in such a manner as to make a durable piece of architecture." Forster, G., Bibl. no. 21.

[3] The word in the original is *stoep*. There is no synonymous expression in English, though 'porch,' 'thresbold,' or 'piazza' each corresponds in a way. In the United States of America, and in the South African colonies, the Dutch term has been adopted; and is now written 'stoop.' It means the paved space adjoining the front door of a house, where on fine evenings the inmates are wont to sit in chairs or on benches.

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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136 seen in it. Even the marine species do not settle on its shores nor fly within sight of it: the same is the case with regard to beetles, insects, &c.

342 Most of the natives of the island dwell in underground caves, or in the hollow of some rock, the entrances to which are so narrow and inconvenient that I have seen some of them introduce themselves in the opposite manner to what is natural, beginning by projecting their feet and the head last. The more polished or powerful persons, whether in [554] virtue of their age or of authority, are held in esteem. These inhabit small huts covered with reeds [*totora*], and constructed in the form of a large tunnel, in whose bilge or bellying portion [*vientre ò bariga*] is the entrance, after the manner of a trap-door for cats' egress, so narrow that only one man can pass in or out at a time, and that with effort. Others (whom I believe to be their ministers) occupy dwellings close to the statues; these are built of earth below, but with an entrance way or porch of very roughly hewn and clumsily set up stones, after the fashion of a wall, with a certain number of steps for passing from one platform or surface of ground to another on different levels. 324 It is known that they work the stone, on which may be seen several different figures, squares, oblongs, arcs [*rumbos*], triangles, and trapezia, by means of another stone of harder substance than the mass, and the same method is followed, I believe, in fashioning the statues.

648 On the afternoon of this day during a rain squall with little wind from the S.W. our cable parted, having chafed completely through against a coral rock, fragments of which came up embedded among the strands of the two broken ends. We spent the evening in making ready for the succeeding day, on which we were to formally disembark and take possession of the island, and to erect upon it three crosses which had been got ready for the purpose on board the Commodore.

7: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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When we sat down to eat we noticed that they all withdrew, and that only one remained, as if to watch; I ordered my servant to give this one a little cooked rice and salt pork, all of which he ate and found much to his taste. When we had finished dinner we betook ourselves for a stroll on the island: our people were again warned to do no injury to the natives nor to their plantations. When we had walked up the slope of the beach we found all those whom we had previously seen, and we passed over in a body without saying anything to them until they, putting aside their shyness, came close up to our people and conducted us to see a long dwelling-house which was about a quarter of a league off. This house was 27 paces in length, 2½ *varas* high at the centre, and 1½ *varas* at the ends, more or less; and at the middle part was a doorway 1 *vara* in height. It was framed on some six poles of 4 *varas* long, and a span[1] in thickness. After having shown us this sumptuous edifice, they began to sing and to dance by way of paying us a compliment and being very happy at seeing us. We walked about two leagues, and at that distance (throughout which many islanders accompanied us) we saw a plantain garden which stretched about a quarter of a league in extent, and was about half that distance in breadth. There were other small plantain gardens, and several plantations and fields of sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, taro, yams, white gourds, and plants like those whose leaves are employed at the Callao for making mats. We saw a root which they chew and daub their bodies and limbs all over with: it is good for yielding a very fine yellow dye[2]. At dusk we made back to our launches to stay the night, without our peaceful relations with the natives having been

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[1] *Un 'xeme,'* i.e. *jeme*, the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the forefinger.

[2] No doubt this refers to turmeric—a common plant in most Pacific islands.

8: Behrens T-5 (1721-1722) 1908
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500 live fowls, which were like those of the Vierländen, this time without any boiled or roast ones, together with many roots, some red, some white, a good lot of potatoes which tasted almost like bread, and which are used by these people in the same way; and some hundreds of sugar-canes, great quantities of *pisang*[1], being Indian figs as large as a cucumber a span in length and of proportionate thickness, with a green rind. When one peels this off [the pulp] tastes like figs, or as sweet as honey: there are sometimes as many as a hundred on a single bunch. The leaf is from two to three feet broad and from six to eight feet in length. It is with these that our first parents should have covered themselves in Paradise after their unfortunate Fall, because it is almost the largest and strongest leaf which one meets with in Morning and Evening lands.

No animals were met with, as far as we penetrated on this occasion, except sundry species of birds; but there may be many other animals farther in the interior of the country, as the natives seemed acquainted with pigs when they saw some on board our ships.

The natives prepare their meals in pots made of clay or earth. Each household appeared to us to have its own.

The houses were from forty to sixty feet [*schuh*] long, six to eight feet [*schuh*] in width, and of similar height, set up on wooden stakes, daubed over with luting and covered in with palm leaves. As regards their subsistence it appears that it must be procured by tillage of the soil, as we saw it everywhere planted and bearing crops. Moreover the fields or lands were all measured off with a cord, and very neatly cultivated. At the time of our visit all their crops were maturing: the fields and trees were in full bearing, and I feel sure that if we had explored this country right through many good things would have been met with, since we were there in just the best season of the year.

No remarkable furniture was found inside their houses, except some red and white coverlets [*decken*] which they often use as apparel, and also for sleeping under. These coverlets felt like silk, to the touch, so that one could almost conclude they had looms by means of which they made them themselves.

These natives were universally blithe and merry, well-built, strong in limb, not exactly slender, yet nimble on their feet; friendly and pleasant in manner, but submissive withal, and also very timid. Most of them, when bringing any object such as

[1] *Pisang* is the Malayan generic term for the banana.

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

1774. MARCH. In the afternoon we hoiſted out a boat, and the maſter went towards the ſhore to take ſoundings in the road, from whence the canoe had come off to us. As ſoon as the natives perceived our boat on the water, they aſſembled along ſhore, near the place to which our people ſeemed to direct their courſe. Among a croud of naked men, we ſaw ſome [29] who ſeemed to be dreſſed in a bright cloth of a yellow, or rather orange colour, from whence we ſuſpected that they were their principal people. We now likewiſe began to diſcern their houſes, which ſeemed to be extremely low and long, higheſt in the middle, and ſloping down towards both extremities. They much reſembled a canoe turned with the keel or bottom upwards. In the middle there ſeemed to be a ſmall entrance or door, which was ſo low, that a man of a common ſize muſt ſtoop to get in. Towards evening we let go our anchor in about forty fathom, gravelly bottom off the S. W. part of the iſland. The maſter returned preſently after, and brought one of the natives in the boat with him. This bold fellow had jumped into the boat without any ceremony or invitation, while it was cloſe to the ſhore, and expreſsly deſired to be brought on board. He was of the middle ſize, about five feet eight inches high, and remarkably hairy on the breaſt and all over the body. His colour was a cheſnut brown, his beard ſtrong, but clipped ſhort, and of a black colour, as was alſo the hair of his head, which was likewiſe cut ſhort.

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

their clubs and pattoo-pattoos, and wood ſufficient to patch up a canoe. 1774. MARCH.

175X
[824]
175X
342 ●

We found the face of the country more barren and ruinous the farther we advanced. The ſmall number of inhabitants, who met us at the landing-place, ſeemed to have been the bulk of the nation, ſince we met no other people on our walk; and yet for theſe few we did not ſee above ten or twelve huts, though the view commanded a great part of the iſland. One of the ſighteſt of theſe was ſituated on a little hillock, about half a mile from the ſea, which we aſcended. Its conſtruction was ſuch as evinced the poverty and wretched condition of its owners. The foundation conſiſted of ſtones about a foot long, laid level with the ſurface in two curve lines, converging at the extremities. Theſe lines were about ſix feet aſunder in the middle, but not above one foot at the ends. In every ſtone of this foundation we obſerved one or two holes, in each of which a ſtake was inſerted. The middlemoſt ſtakes were ſix feet high, but the others gradually diminiſhed to two feet. On the top the ſtakes all converged, and were tied by ſtrings to tranſverſe ſticks, by which they were kept together. A kind of thatch, made of ſmall ſticks, and covered with a neat mat-work of ſugar-cane leaves, leaned on each row of ſtakes, forming a very ſharp ridge or angle at the top, and reſting firmly on the ground at the bottom. A hole was left on one ſide, about eighteen inches or two

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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1774. MARCH. feet high, over which the people had built a round projecting funnel to keep off the wet. We crept on all fours into this opening, and found the inside of the hut perfectly naked and empty, there being not so much as a wisp of straw to lie down upon. We could not stand upright in any part except just in the middle, and the whole place appeared dark and dismal. The natives told us they passed the night in these huts, and we easily conceived their situation to be uncomfortable, especially as we saw so very few of them, that they must be crammed full, unless the generality of the people lie in the open air, and leave these wretched dwellings to their chiefs, or make use of them only in bad weather.

Besides these huts, we observed some heaps of stones piled up into little hillocks, which had one steep perpendicular side, where a hole went under ground. The space within could be but very small, and yet it is probable that these cavities likewise served to give shelter to the people during night. They may, however, communicate with natural caverns, which are very common in the lava currents of volcanic countries. Such caverns are very frequent in Iceland, famous for having been the dwelling-places of the ancient inhabitants. Mr. Ferber, the first mineralogical historian of Vesuvius, has noticed such a subterraneous hole in one of the modern lavas of that mountain. We should have

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

In traveling southward, along the slope of the mountain, on again approaching the region of grass it was singular to observe the line of demarcation. The sand, moved by the winds, was gradually encroaching upon the vegetation, the depth of the edge being about 6 inches. The contrast between the deep red of the one and the vivid green of the other was very striking, and the line was as straight, regular, and clearly drawn, with fertility on one side and barrenness on the other, as any of a similar nature seen by the writer in Egypt. 137

The walking upon the sand, although tiresome, was easy as compared with that on the hummock grass, over which our route now lay. In our journeyings theretofore, although there was no regular paths and of course no roads, we were fortunate enough occasionally to strike a sheep or cattle trail, which afforded a welcome relief, however brief, to our jaded feet. There was nothing of the sort now—no avoiding of rough places, no choice of spots to plant a foot—and as we moved grimly onward, blundering at every step, the distance around Cape Anantauvanui seemed interminable. Thoroughly fatigued we reached the precipice, which terminated the plateau over which we had been struggling, and looking to the westward saw the welcome flags, still a mile distant, waving over our camp. The descent of the precipice at the point reached being precarious, its edge was skirted until a more favorable place was found down which to scramble to the plain below. Here we presently struck a trail, which soon opened into a wagon road, whence a footpath led to the camp, which the writer (the party having been scattered since noon) reached at 4:30 in the afternoon. 487

The situation of the camp, which was named "Baird" in honor of the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, was a delightful one, being located on the south side of the little bay of Hanga Nui, at the base of a bluff which partly sheltered it from the strong southeast trades, as well as the hot afternoon sun. Rana Roraka, from the crater and slopes of which all the monoliths on the island had been quarried, lay immediately to the left. Pua-ke-taki, over whose summit and around whose base we had toiled, loomed in front of us. Lying in the opening of our cave, we could gaze upon the great platform, Tongarika, with its fifteen prostrate stone images, the largest and most imposing on the island. At our feet, surging back and forth among the everlasting rocks as the swell rolled in from the open ocean, lay the sparkling waters of the Hanga Nui Bay. 122

The cave, called "Ana Haven" by the natives, ran back into the bluff a distance of 50 feet or more and laterally about 30. The entrance was spacious, and it was roomy, dry, and well ventilated, the trade wind, deflected by the bluff, sweeping nearly across its face. It was an ancient cavern, had been inhabited by the image builders, and was still occupied at times by the natives, as also by Messrs. Salmon and Brander when in this part of the island, engaged in rounding up their herds of cattle or sheep. The floor was strewn with dry litter, bull rushes and 342 ●

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

342 grass. There were several elevated platforms, edged off with bowlders, which were for sleeping places, and the remains of an ancient fireplace could be traced in one corner. Two huge rocks, with a flourishing tobacco plant growing between, guarded the entrance, from which a grass-covered lawn inclined downward to the rocks at the water side.

The men were accommodated in another comfortable cave at about 100 yards distance inland, and the camp fire was kept brightly burning in a clear space among the bowlders on the declivity hard by.

312 At no time during our trip were we without food. On the contrary, sheep were plentiful all over the island. Drinking water, so indispensable, and yet so scarce on Rapa Nui, was obtained from several sources near Camp Baird, but all was equally unpalatable. Our first supply (we remained at this camp about three days) was obtained from a so called well, half a mile distant, located among the rocks near the edge of the bay, and was salt at high water and more or less brackish at all times.

The water from a spring discovered by Quartermaster Lowrie was also unpalatable, and a supply obtained from the crater of Rana Roraka, near by, owing to its animal and vegetable impurities, was more so. It is to this crater that by far the larger number of cattle resort to drink, and their grazing ground, for this reason, is mostly located on this part of the island.

000 On the evening of our arrival, December 24, having partaken of a hearty dinner and lighted our cigars, we stretched ourselves, weary and foot sore, on the grass in front of our cave. The conversation, brisk and merry at first, soon flagged, became desultory, and presently ceased entirely. It was "the night before Christmas;" our mere physical, corporeal nature was pressing the soil of Rapa Nui, but the spirit, our immaterial part, was many leagues away.

172 At various times during our stay the writer purchased crania which the natives offered him for sale, and among these were several skulls of ancient Kings, bearing peculiar marks which, Mr. Salmon assured him, he then saw for the first time, and of the genuineness of which he had no doubt.

123 Christmas forenoon was passed in exploring the region in the vicinity
532 of the camp, several cairns being opened with variable success in the matter of specimens. In the afternoon the crater of Rana Roraka was visited and note taken of the very numerous finished and unfinished images, some standing, others prostrate, scattered over its slope and the great plain at its base, where there is every reason to believe once stood a populous town. The quarries, "workshops," were also visited
532 and the many partly completed monoliths, still attached to the original rock, examined. As in Egypt, where, in the quarries at Syene, near the First Cataract, the largest obelisk still lies unfinished, so here, in one of the excavations on the outer slope of the crater, may be seen the largest of the stone images to be found on Rapa Nui in an incomplete

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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cairn, is 1,100 miles, and the South American coast is 2,100 miles to the eastward. [31]

The island is irregularly triangular in shape. Its greatest length from NE. to SW. is 13 miles; its greatest width from North Cape to Cape Hoe-Hoe, in a direction from NNW. to SSE., is 7 miles. The circumference, measuring from headland to headland, is about 34 miles, and the area of the island is 34 square miles.

The surface is diversified mountain and plain, the former usually rising abruptly from the latter, and generally at a distance from each other, so that, with one or two exceptions, it can hardly be said that there are valleys, strictly speaking. The mountains—a goodly number in proportion to the area of the island—are mostly cone shaped, and not of very great elevation, the tallest, near Cape North, being but 1,707 feet high. The most extensive plain is at the base of Rana Roraku, extending thence in a westerly direction for several miles, and it is believed that in ancient times a large town existed on this site, in whose vicinity all the monoliths were carved. [33]

The coast line on the southern and western sides, except at the extreme southwest end where Rana Kao looms up, is generally low, but extremely rocky. The northwestern, northern, northeastern, and eastern coasts are a succession of black, frowning, precipitous, basalt cliffs, worn into innumerable caves by the erosion of the sea, and with huge attached bowlders scattered at the base, over and against which the waves dash with resistless fury, forming a veritable iron-bound coast. Many of the caves thus formed have been inhabited and have also been used as burial places; and the remains of human beings, with implements interred with them or secreted by the modern natives, sometimes reward the diligent searcher. [172]

There are but two or three points around the entire coast line at which a sandy beach may be met with. One of these, small in extent, is on the south side, near Mr. Salmon's residence at Vaihu, in a picturesque little bay, used as a bathing ground and boat landing.

Another, and much the larger, forms the beach of Anakana Bay on the north side of the island, the legendary landing place of Hotu Motua, and by far the best and safest boat harbor around the coast.

The soil is for the most part decomposed or disintegrated lava, nowhere of any great depth, but exceedingly fertile and in places, as for example, where excavations were made inside of cairns, it was found of the fineness, color and richness of garden mold. [34]

Except where a few clearings have been made, nearly the entire surface of the island is covered in astonishing profusion with fragments of lava, varying in size from that of a pebble to that of a huge bowlder. They are nearly black in color, hard, sharp, angular, weather-worn; and it is these, in places *covering* the ground, which render pedestrianism so difficult and laborious.

Until supplied with wood from wrecked lumber vessels the modern [342]

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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342 natives built many of these huts, the cairns for the dead, and other buildings, of these lava blocks, loosely piled up, and Messrs. Salmon and Brander apply them to good use in constructing their extensive corrals and fences, with the added advantage of thus clearing the soil for planting, wherever desirable.

137 A coarse hummock grass and a variety of finer quality grow profusely over nearly the entire island, sprouting vigorously among the lava fragments, and affording abundant pasturage for the herds of cattle, horses, and sheep, the former numbering 600 and the latter 18,000 at the time of our visit, and both multiplying rapidly.

134 On the northeastern end of the island, and on the slopes of Mount Pua-ko-taki, the surface is covered with fine, red, volcanic sand and dust, which is kept in constant motion by the winds, and is barren of vegetation of any kind.

132 At the time of our visit, December, which is during their dry or summer season, extending from October to April, the periods of the 312 southeast trades, there were no running streams on the island, nor, with the exception of the valley at the base of Rana Kao, were there any evidences of the former existence of such visible. Fresh water away from the habitations was exceedingly scarce and difficult to obtain, although showers of rain at night were not infrequent.

312 The alleged springs or wells, including *Puna Pua*, the "Unfailing Spring," so highly spoken of by former visitors, were at long distances apart, were merely shallow excavations among the bowlders into which the surface water percolated, and were covered to protect them from the animals. The water contained in them was rarely of more than a few bucketsful in quantity, and with a single exception, at Camp Whitney, of bad quality. That contained in the lakes inside the two craters, the accumulations of the rainy seasons, and surface drainage also, was fully as bad, and impregnated both with vegetable and animal matter, the former from the dense growth on the surface, the latter from the herds of cattle which came to the lakes to drink.

271 It may be mentioned in this place that the natives, from long habit, no doubt, have become accustomed to drink but sparingly. We were surprised, during our expedition around the island, to notice how rarely they resorted to the canteen, with which all were provided, and they, no doubt, were equally amazed at our constant demand for water, made necessary to replace the loss from perspiration, induced by violent exercise and the sun's heat. They were always careful to locate our camp near, and anxious to keep us well supplied with, as good water as was to be had, and when we broke camp in the morning the "springs" in the vicinity were usually drained dry.

312 It was at first a mystery to us whence the animals obtained their supplies, but as to the cattle, they never wandered far away from the craters, in whose lakes they could, at all seasons, quench their thirst. In so far as the sheep were concerned, whose needs in this respect are

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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164 ations, was spoken of by them, and was attributed to walking barefoot
753 over certain running vines usually growing among the rocks at the sea-side. On reaching such places they seemed to avoid them, but nothing definite or reliable was elicited, and subsequent inquiries were overlooked in the hurry of departure.

VILLAGES AND HABITATIONS.

361 The villages on the island are three in number, Hanga-roa, near the bay of the same name, on the western side; Mataveri, within a mile of the former, and Vaihu, near Cape Hoe-Hoe, on the southerly coast of the island. Much the larger part of the population is gathered in the two [162] villages first mentioned, between which the people are about equally distributed. At the first named is the church of the Catholic mission.

About a half mile south of Mataveri, near the base of Rana Kao, and separated from it by the most distinctive valley on the island, is the residence of Mr. Brander, the first erected and by far the largest, roomiest, and most convenient; modern-built, of wood, with lofty ceilings, and porches, and shade trees growing about it. It is, however, in a sad state of repair, and the evidences of neglect and thriftlessness are apparent everywhere.

Vaihu, which can no longer be called a village, is about 4½ miles to the eastward of Mataveri. It was at one time a Catholic mission, and the church and parsonage, still in a fair state of preservation, yet remain, together with a few outbuildings, all of which are occupied by Mr. Salmon and his employees, perhaps a dozen in all. Divine service, under the leadership of native "missionaries," is still held in one portion of the church, while the remainder is appropriated to other purposes, mainly for the storage of wool, obtained from the sheep, considerable quantities of which are shipped to Tahiti.

000 The habitations of the ancient image and platform builders, the stone huts on Rana Kao, will be described in other reports.

342 Until quite recently the house of the modern Rapa Nuiis were some-
171 what similar to those of the Fijians, being rectangular in shape, about 6 to 8 feet wide by 10 to 15 feet long, with nearly perpendicular sides, peak-roofed lengthwise, door on side, and thatched all over.

342 A few years since an Oregon lumber vessel was wrecked on the island
171 and much of her cargo, which consisted of boards, scantling, etc., was brought ashore. Of these, under suitable instruction, the natives built themselves houses, and nearly all are now domiciled in comparatively modern style habitations and far more comfortably than formerly. These houses, which after all have a very forlorn look, are from 15 to 20 or more feet long by from 10 to 15 feet wide. The weatherboards are neatly fitted to the frame of scantling, and they are covered with a board roof. There are usually two doors hinged opposite each other on the long sides of the house, and a small window or two close by the entrances, and sometimes glazed, admit a feeble light when the doors are closed.

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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In place of plank floors the bare earth is strewn with dried bulrushes and grass to the depth of several inches, and as this litter is rarely renewed, the result is obvious. Occasionally a bunk may be found knocked up at one end of the single apartment of which the house consists, or, as in the more pretentious houses, a square bedstead may be seen, built of planed, unpainted wood, with a wild attempt at scroll carving about the head and foot boards. Chairs and tables are unknown luxuries.

The same house is often occupied by several families, or by several generations of the same family, but as the individuals composing these are never very numerous there is no overcrowding.

A few of the more ordinary cooking utensils may occasionally be seen, but as a rule the natives, as is generally the case among the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, prepare their food in stone ovens in the following manner: A circular excavation is made in the earth outside of the dwelling, several feet in diameter and a foot or two in depth, which is then neatly lined with a porous stone of some sort. Other stones are loosely laid in, and a quantity of dry wood or brush of any kind, with more stones, piled on. The wood is then set on fire, and, when the stones have become sufficiently heated, the loose ones are taken out, and the brands and cinders removed, leaving the lining of heated stones intact. Over these is then spread a layer of banana, breadfruit, or other large leaves to keep the food from contact with ashes. The food, taro, yams, sweet potatoes, fowl, short, or "long pig," or whatever else there may be, previously prepared for cooking, is then placed on the layer of leaves, piece by piece, until all are in position, when the mound of food is carefully covered over with several thicknesses of large green leaves to prevent any dirt from falling in among the edibles. The heated stones, previously removed, are then placed in position all over the mass and finally a thick layer of fine, dry earth, ashes, and cinders is piled over all, these being for the purpose of retaining the heat. In from two to three or four hours the baking is finished, and, barring the "long pig," perhaps, a more healthful and toothsome method of preparing and cooking food, when superintended by an expert native Samoan *chef*, for example, could not, in the estimation of the writer, who has had opportunities for judging, be devised. The thought suggests itself here that the "clambakes" of our Atlantic States are a feeble imitation of this style of cooking among the islanders.

As wood or solid fuel of any kind is a most rare commodity on Rapa Nui the natives are compelled to use brush, twigs, and trash cast up on their island by the sea, anything, in fact, of an inflammable nature which they can pick up. They even economize the dried droppings of the cattle, as the Arab does those of his camel, for this purpose, and I saw great basketfuls of these carefully stowed away in their houses for future use.

They have no fixed time for eating, and while their *mess*, as may be

11: Lavachery A-5 (1934-1935) 1937
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stone, so easy to fashion is the stone of this island. This argument[9] can be used against those who put forward the alleged difficulty of carving igneous rock as a reason for attributing them to a race more skilled, more strong, and gifted with better implements than the Polynesians.

But to return to the first Polynesian colonists. Very probably the fauna and flora of Easter Island were extremely restricted. But following a custom common in all their migrations, they would have taken with them plants, seeds of the most useful vegetables, rats, and chickens. They colonized the island, and their first settlements were at Anakena on the north coast and at Akahanga on the south. They set about conserving rainwater, for Easter Island has no springs. At the same time they learned how to protect the crops against the continual winds. They were familiar with certain crafts which they hold in common with all Polynesians—the making of cloth from mulberry bark (tapa) and the working of wood and stone. The latter craft differs only from that found in the other Polynesian islands in respect of the size of the monuments. The abundance of easily carved stone was the sole predetermining cause of the Pascuans erecting on their island the largest statues found in the islands of Oceania.

The technical skill of the former inhabitants is seen also in the manufacture of implements and weapons of obsidian, and of fish-hooks of stone and bone. These last were made with human bone, for man was the only mammal available with bones large enough. The Pascuan writing on wood shows their skill and taste. There have been found a large number of rock paintings and engravings, the former magical, the latter merely trial pieces.

The Pascuan house, when it is above ground, shows many technical analogies with the Hawaiian house, which, like it, is roofed with tufts of grass set on a framework of boughs. Whenever possible, the Pascuans settled themselves in artificial caves or holes in the ground, which provided a less precarious shelter in war and against thieves. The fowl house was built on the same principles.

The Pascuans were tatooed, and on feast days they painted their bodies with appropriate emblems.

Ten family groups or clans divided up the island between them. The king belonged to the clan of Miru. His place of residence changed, and his role was indeterminate. Many taboos, notably in the matter of food, isolated him from Pascuan life. He did not engage in the wars which often broke out between the clans of the west and north and those of the east (Kotuu against Hotu Itl). He pro-

[9] Unfortunately, however, the mystery mongers are not as a rule open to reason. Mystery is their religion.—Translator.

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172* 36 Many of the houses are in good repair, in other cases they have been ruined to obtain the painted slabs and carved doorposts, and have no doubt in some instances suffered from natural decay. The rocks are much weathered, but a large proportion of the designs can be clearly traced.

CONSTRUCTION OF A TYPICAL HOUSE.

172* 34 All the houses are built of stone obtained from a quarry which is close at hand on the crater side of the summit. The rock is a fine grained volcanic sandstone bedded in large laminæ. In certain parts of the quarry the laminæ are curved and the section then resembles that of an onion (Plate V, Fig. 1). In size and shape the dwellings differ greatly from one another, accommodating themselves to the formation of the ground and pre-existing structures; they have, however, in common, not only the material of which they are constructed, but also a typical form to which the better specimens approximate in greater or less degree. Such a typical building will be first described, and later each house will be dealt with in detail. The Orongo house differs widely from that usually found elsewhere in the island. In both cases the dominant note is that of the upturned canoe, but, on the lower ground, the "ribs and keel" are of wooden rods, and the "skin" is of thatch, stone being employed for the foundations, or "gunwale," alone, and that only in the best built specimens.[1] Though, as will be seen, there is evidence to show that at least one of these thatched buildings has antedated at Orongo some of the stone dwellings, it is obvious that as a class it is unsuited for so windy and exposed a position. The natives term the Orongo habitation not *haré* or houses, but *ana* or cave.

A typical house is built as follows:—

The Site is chosen on sloping ground and the soil excavated sufficiently to obtain the required level space.

The Foundations are of rough cubes of rock weighing perhaps one cwt. each. They are laid in the form of an oval, the greatest length of which may be 26 feet, and the greatest width 6 feet (Fig. 3, in text).

The Walls.—On the inner side of the foundation course, slabs are set up on edge, the largest and flattest sections of stone from the quarry being used for lining the interior and placed vertically (Plate IV, Fig. 2).

The two side edges of the slabs approximate to the side edges of the adjoining slabs. The panels are of greatest height and size in the centre of the house, and diminish on either hand. In theory, the whole interior of the house is lined with slabs; in practice, towards the extreme ends of the house they are frequently altogether wanting.

[1] See *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 215. There are, however, scattered throughout the island numerous cairns with chambers which have been used as dwellings, and in one or two instances more carefully built stone houses.

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The body of the wall is formed of small or shattered fragments of the stone, laid in horizontal courses with broken joints. These small, horizontally placed slabs are governed in position by the vertical slabs, behind and between and above

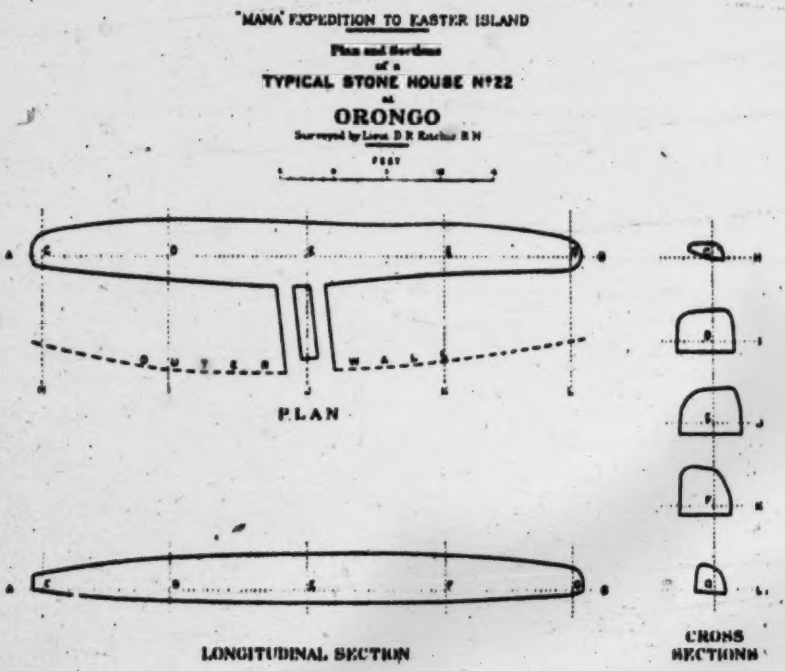

FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.—VERTICAL SECTION OF A HOUSE.

which they are built up. In portions of the wall where there is no panel—that is, above and between the vertical slabs—the laminæ are brought forward to such a degree that the edges, which are directed towards the interior of the house, are in the

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same plane as the panels, thus holding them in place. The result is that the finished wall presents a series of panels of irregular margin with the space behind, above, and between them filled in with dry masonry (Plate X, Fig. 1).[1]

When the back wall—viz., that on the side where the ground is highest—has risen to a certain point, it is panelled on the exterior side also by means of large wedge-shaped slabs of inferior shape and quality, thicker at one end than at the other (Plate IV, Fig. 1). These exterior slabs are held in place by the excavated earth being filled up again behind them. The front wall—viz., that facing the sea—does not have exterior vertical slabs.

The walls are of great thickness; where they can be measured—*i.e.*, on the front side—their width is usually 6 feet or 7 feet.

It is not unusual to find intervals in the masonry carefully arranged to act as niches or shelves, and sometimes as a hatch between two adjoining houses, through which articles could be passed.

The Entrance.—At the level of the floor and in the centre of the front or sea side of the house, a means of ingress and egress is provided in the shape of a rectangular tunnel, of which the roof, two sides and floor are, in the best-built specimens, formed of slabs (Plate VI, Fig. 2). At either end of the tunnel—*i.e.*, where it enters the house and the open air respectively—is a door frame (Plate XI, Fig. 1). The frame consists of two uprights, a lintel, and, in perfect specimens, also of a sill. The last is formed of a slab sunk vertically into the ground, so that its upper edge shall be flush with the surface of the floor.[2] The uprights at the exterior end are often stones of considerable size, and carved. Where these frames remain in place, accurate measurements can be given of the passage at either end. Each house has typically only one aperture, but sometimes two are found, or one is in duplicate, the two passages being side by side.

The Floor is raised slightly above the level of the foundations. Selected earth is used; it is never paved with stone.

The Roof.—When the walls have reached their full height the laminæ are imbricated, or "tumble home," till the opening is reduced to such a size that it can be spanned by a series of single slabs, thus completing the arch or roof (Plate V, Fig. 2). For these roofing slabs the curved laminæ are chosen, and they are often of such dimensions that ten men would be required to move a single slab into place. If the house is seen in longitudinal vertical section the roof resembles a dome, of which, say, the middle two-fourths is flattened (Fig. 4, in text).

The height of the chamber measured from the highest part of the roof to the floor is usually about 5 feet.

[1] This method is practically identical with that employed in building the seaward face of many of the *ahu* or burial places. See *The Mystery of Easter Island* (Fig. 37).

[2] In the following descriptions there is frequently no mention of the sill, but it is believed that where there is no note on the subject it did not exist, or was not visible.

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Form of Structure.—The shape of the house, when the roof is added, noticeably resembles that of an inverted Canadian canoe, *i.e.*, both ends are alike, and as it diminishes in breadth, so does it diminish in height. 172* 342

Earth Covering.—When the house is completed soil is placed over it; the depth of the roof may amount to about 2 feet. The anterior wall alone is left bare. Otherwise the house is so covered with earth as to blend with the surrounding surface (Plate VIII, Fig. 1).

Decoration.—The interior is often decorated by means of a white pigment, with which the walls and roof are covered, giving the effect of whitewash. The largest slabs—*i.e.*, those opposite the doorway, where they obtain most light—are frequently also adorned with designs in colour (Plate IV, Fig. 2). [353]

Exterior Cavity for Stores.—Outside the house a small pit is not unusually found, a few feet from the door and in line with it. These pits are lined, and in the best specimen, also floored and roofed, with slabs. Nodules of volcanic ash were frequently found in them, which are said to have been used for heating purposes, and the pits were at first reported to have been used for cooking purposes. Later it was stated that they were intended to contain stores, and as practically no charred ash was found, this latter statement is probably correct (Plate VII, Figs. 1, 3). These pits are shown in the plan where discovered, but many are probably buried or destroyed.[1] 172* 251

Kitchens.—The site of the cooking places was pointed out nearer the cliff edge. They were, it was said, simply cavities dug in the earth and not lined with masonry. 172* 354

THE HOUSES IN NUMERICAL SEQUENCE.

Nos. 1 and 2 are covered by the same mound of earth. Their orientation is unique, as they stand at right angles to the crater, and also at right angles to the main row of buildings. 172*

No. 1.

Condition: one-third of house at the north-west end broken down. Roof and part of wall absent. Panels[2] largely broken away.

Passage: 6′ 8″, outer end indeterminate, inner end 1′ 6″ × 2′ 1″; roof of flat slabs; has apparently never had panels.

Chamber: 23′ 0″ × 4′ 4″ × 4′ 3″. East end square, made from slab 3′ 6″ wide; west end rounded.

Decoration:—exterior, a large sculptured stone, contiguous to outer door but partially buried, was laid bare. It bore one small bird-man[3] figure and a larger design obliterated by weathering.

[1] The "drain for the dead," mentioned by Surgeon Palmer (*Ethnological Review*, Vol. I, p. 371), was carefully sought and excavated for, but could not be recognised.

[2] In the following description, for the sake of simplicity the laminæ will be termed "panels" where employed vertically, and "slabs" when used horizontally.

[3] See below, "Carvings according to Type," *Bird-man*.

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1. GEOLOGICAL SECTION SHOWING CURVED JOINTING IN ROCK USED AS CAPSTONES OF HOUSES.

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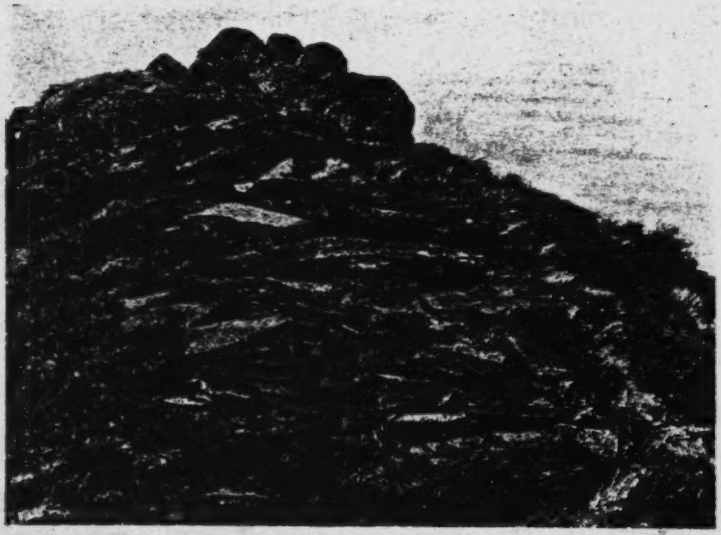

2. CAPSTONES OF HOUSES IN POSITION.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

[p. 444 c]

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1. END OF A HOUSE UNROOFED. NO. 2.

2. ENTRANCE PASSAGE UNROOFED. NO. 12.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO

[p. 444 d]

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Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. L, 1920, Plate VII.

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[251]

1. A BROKEN DOORWAY, SMALL PIT, AND CARVED STONE. NO. 7.

[532]
[25]

2. STONE CARVED WITH FACE. NO. 7.

3. A SMALL PIT. NO. 7.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

[A444 2]

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1. CENTRAL HOUSES OF VILLAGE (SKETCH). LEFT TO RIGHT, NOS. 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, AND 22 (DOUBLE ENTRANCE).

[532]

2. DOOR-POST, FORMERLY A FOUNDATION STONE, CARVED WITH FACE.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

[p. 444 f]

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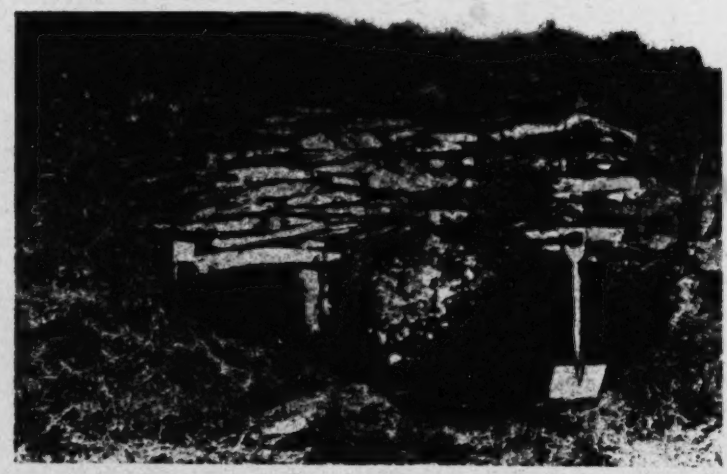
1. HOUSE NO. 11, WHICH CONTAINED THE STATUE.



2. HOUSE NO. 18, WITH CIRCULAR STONE, PROBABLY A PEDESTAL.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

[p. 444 a]

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Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. L, 1920, Plate XI.

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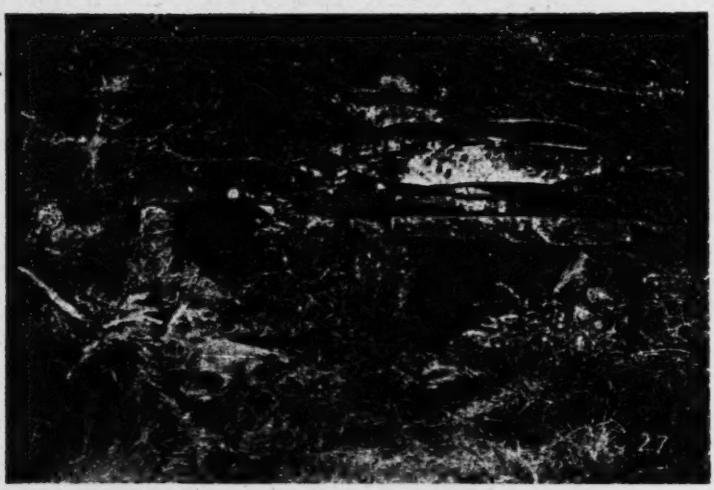
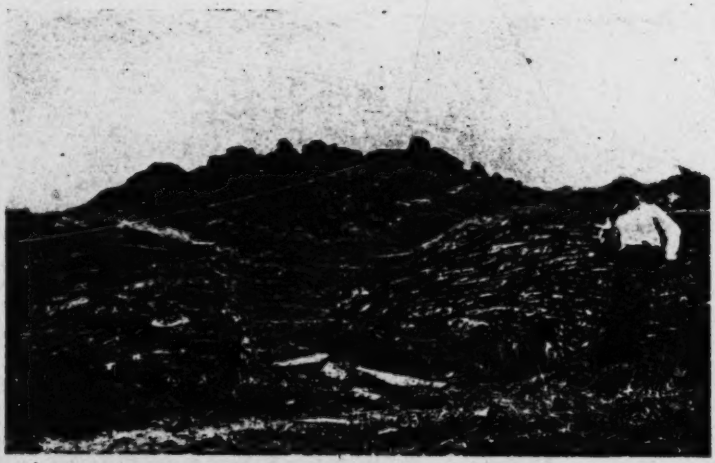


1. DOORWAYS OF HOUSES NOS. 26 AND 27.



2. HOUSE NO. 33.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

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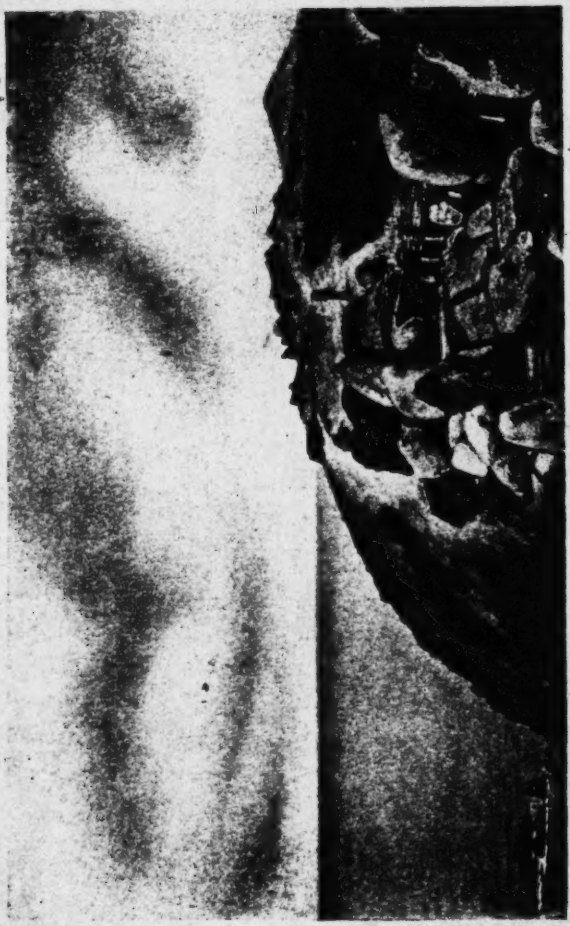

HOUSES NOS. 40 TO 44, AND CARVED ROCKS (SKETCH).

[p.444 to]

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1. HOUSES NOS. 40 TO 43.

2. WESTERN GROUP OF ROCKS, EASTERN ASPECT.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

[*444]

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1. DOOR-POST BETWEEN NOS. 41 AND 42.

2. "FAN" CARVING ON STONE BETWEEN NOS. 43 AND 44.

3. PORTION OF A PILLOW STONE, CARVED WITH *ko mari* FIGURES.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

[p. 444 o]

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the Marama clan set fire to the house of the head of the Miru clan because the Miru had given the coveted distinction to the Ngaure instead of to his own people. An aggrieved clan had its remedy through war.[1] The Mata-toa when taking part in the bird ceremonies are spoken of as the "Ao," thus "Miru te Ao" signifies that the Miru were the celebrants that year; the same name is given to an actual object in the shape of a large paddle used in dancing, the handle of which was adorned with a human face. The island is triangular in shape, with its apex to the north, and the bird ceremonies were especially connected with the western angle. This portion is formed by an extinct volcano known as Rano Kao, and in October the Mata-toa, or a certain number of them, men, women and children, took up their abode in a number of houses at the foot of the mountain on the landward side. The place is called Mataveri and the removal there was known as "Kaho Mataveri ki te Ao," or "to go to Mataveri for the Ao." The houses were made after the fashion of the island, as a superstructure of sticks and reed on a boat-shaped foundation of stone, and here great cannibal feasts were held; tradition relates that so big were the houses that one of the victims escaped by hiding in an extreme end. Similar gruesome feasts took place to the accompaniment of breaking waves in a sea cave near at hand, which still bears the name of "Ana-kai-tangata," or "Cave eat man"; the roof is covered with paintings of birds in red and white pigment, one of which is superimposed on a drawing of a European ship and cannot, therefore, be earlier than the eighteenth century. For

[1] Since writing the above Dr. Corney has located the interesting accounts of the first missionaries, published in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. Their knowledge of the Bird cult is vague, but they were specially impressed with the tumult which resulted between different parties after the finding of the egg in the month of September. It must be remembered that their acquaintance with the island was subsequent to the disorganization caused by the Peruvian raid.

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the bird celebrations, in addition to a particular dress and hat, the men carried the "ao" and the women wore the "remiro," a breast ornament only used by a woman whose husband was of the Mato-toa. The wooden images, "moai toromiro," were hung around the neck. A function connected with the young birds took place in October or November, but will be more conveniently spoken of later.

In July the Ao left Mataveri and wound their way up to the top of the mountain by a track still just traceable and known as "the road of the Ao." Rano Kao is some thirteen hundred feet in height and has a crater about a mile in width; the landward side is a grassy slope, but the three sides which are surrounded by sea have been gradually eroded till they form a steep and precipitous cliff of about one thousand feet. So far has this erosion proceeded that the sea has nearly worn its way into the crater itself, which is at the present time only separated from it by a wall of rock along which it would be feasible but not easy to walk. In this process of attrition some harder portions of rock have been left and form three little islands lying off the coast. Standing on the western extremity of the mountain with the narrow ridge immediately on the left, the crater behind and the cliff in front, these islets are seen far below, always girdled with breaking surf from the swell of the Pacific, which here extends in an unbroken sweep to the Antarctic. To-day no sound is heard save the cries of the sea birds as they circle round these their habitations.

The company of the Ao proceeded by the western side of the crater along its ever-narrowing summit till this spot on the cliff was reached, which is known as Orongo. Here houses were again awaiting them, but unlike those at Mataveri they were constructed of stone laminae, lined and roofed with slabs and covered with earth; such structures were obviously more suitable for so windy a spot than those made of reeds. The entrance, which is always toward

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the sea, is by a narrow passage through the thickness of the wall, along which it is just possible to crawl. The slabs opposite the doorway, and where consequently there is a certain amount of light, are often painted; the ao appears on them, also bird designs and frequently representations of European ships. In the middle of the village is the house in which stood the image now at the British Museum, the front of which had to be broken down before the statue could be removed. The image is typical in form, but to find one under cover and in such a position is absolutely unique; its name, "Hoa-haka-nanaia," is roughly translated as "the wave turns over and breaks"; the word Taura-renga is also associated with it, sometimes being applied to the house and sometimes to the image. The village terminates as it approaches the narrowest part of the cliff amongst a number of carved rocks, between which a semicircle of small houses have been built; in some cases the houses cover the carving, which is evidently the older. These dwellings were occupied during the festival by the "tangata rongo-rongo," or the men who recited from the hieroglyphic tablets which form one of the mysteries of the island; half the houses were apportioned to the savants from Kotuu, the other half to those from Hotu-iti. "They chanted all day; they stopped an hour to eat, that was all." This group of rocks and dwellings is known as "Mata-ngarau," and was taboo during the festival to the common herd.

There are in the whole settlement forty-six houses, of which many are practically intact, while others have been ruined in the endeavour to obtain the painted slabs within. The Ao spent the time while awaiting the birds in dancing each day in front of the buildings, food being brought to them from below, where, according to one authority, a friendly clan kept watch at Mataveri. A short way down the cliff immediately below Orongo is a cave known as "Haka-ronga-manu," or "The cave of

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FIG. 84.

CANOE-SHAPED HOUSES.

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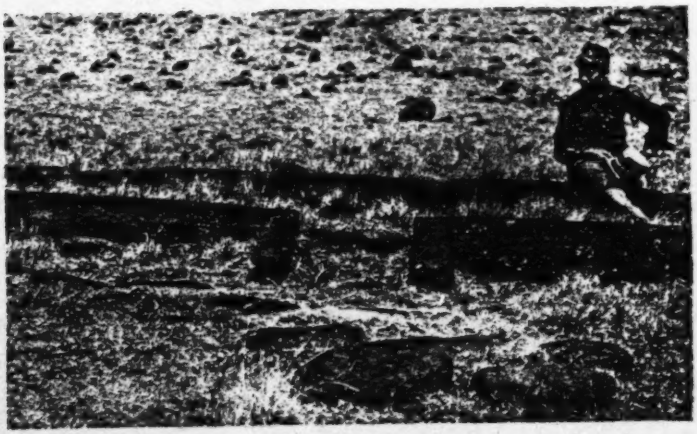
STONE FOUNDATIONS.

FIG. 84A.



ENTRANCE AND PAVED AREA.

[facing p. 215]

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of the primitive existence which continued on Easter Island till the middle of last century. It will be seen that the condition of the people on the coming of Christianity, as we were able to ascertain it, corresponded almost exactly with that described by the first visitors from Europe, more than a hundred years earlier. Such traditions as linger regarding the megalithic remains have already been alluded to earlier in this book, but attention will be drawn to the point whenever this line of research seems successful in throwing indirect light on the origin of the great works.

Mode of Life.—The present natives, in talking of old times, say that their ancestors were "as thick as grass," and stood up like the fingers of two hands with the palms together; a statement from which deduction must be made for pictorial representation. The early mariners never, as we have seen, estimate the population at more than two thousand, but the land could carry many more. Mr. Edmunds calculates that about half of the total amount (or some 15,000 acres) could grow bananas and sweet potatoes. Two acres of cultivated ground would be sufficient to supply an ordinary family.

Housing accommodation presented no great problem. Many slept in the open, and even to-day, in the era of Christianity and European clothes, a cave is looked upon as sufficient shelter. When on moving from our "town" to our "country" house we inquired where our attendants were to sleep, we were cheerfully informed "it was all right, there was a very good cave near Tongariki"—and this cave, called Ana Havea, became a permanent annexe to the establishment (fig. 124). Some of these caves had a wall built in front for shelter.

Houses, however, did exist, which were built in the form of a long upturned canoe; they were made of sticks, the tops of which were tied together, the whole being thatched successively with reeds, grass, and sugar-cane. In the best of these houses, the foundations, which are equivalent to the gunwale of the boat, are made of wrought stones let into the ground; they resemble the curbstones of a street pavement save that the length is greater. In the top of the stones were holes from which sprang the curved rods, which were equivalent to the ribs of a boat, and formed the walls and roof (figs. 84 and 85). The end stones of the house are carefully worked on the curve,

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342 and it is very rare to find them still in place, as they were comparatively light, weighing from one to two hundredweight, and easily carried off. Even the heavier stones were at times seized [727] upon as booty in enemy raids; one measuring 15 feet was pointed out to us near an ahu on the south coast, which had been brought all the way from the north side of the island. In the middle of one side of the house was a doorway, and in the front of it a porch, which had also stone foundations. The whole space in front of the house was neatly paved with water-worn boulders, in the same manner as the ahu. This served as a stoep on which to sit and talk, but its practical utility was obvious to ourselves in the rainy seasons, when the entrance to our tents and houses became deep in mud (fig. 84A). Near the main abode was a thatched house which contained the native oven, the stones of which are often still in place. The cooking was done Polynesian [252] fashion: a hole about 15 inches deep is lined with flat stones, a [354] fire is made within, and, when the stones are sufficiently heated, the food, wrapped up in parcels, is stacked within and covered with earth, a fire being lighted on the top.

Many of the surviving old people were born and brought up in these houses, which are known as "haré paenga." The old man, for example, before alluded to, who was brought out to Raraku, roved round the mountain telling with excitement who occupied the different houses in the days of his youth. He gave a particularly graphic description of the scene after sundown, when all were gathered within for the evening meal. In addition to the main door, there was, he said, an opening near each end by which the food was passed in and then from hand to hand; as perfect darkness reigned, a sharp watch had to be kept that it all reached its proper owners. He lay down within the old foundations to show how the inhabitants [513] slept. This was parallel to the long axis of the house, the head being towards the door; the old people were in the centre in couples, and the younger ones in the ends. The largest of these houses, which had some unique features, measured 122 feet in length, with an extreme width of 12 feet; but some 50 feet [512] by 5 feet or 6 feet are more usual measurements. They were often shared by related families and held anything from ten to thirty, or even more, persons.

600 The food consisted of the usual tropical produce, such as

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FIG. 85.—CANOE-SHAPED HOUSE.
Diagram of stone foundations, paved area, and cooking-place.

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cross-legged around it, howling all night by the light of flares. As no information was volunteered to us about such celebrations, the natives were asked if they had ever known a similar figure, and an old man at once replied that there had existed one just like the description, made of reeds, as a memorial of a dead wife or "fine" child; it stood in front of the house, or was sometimes carried to a hillock where the people assembled to mourn. One of the officers of the La Pérouse Expedition also described a figure seen near a platform; it was 11 feet in height, clothed in white tapa (*"étoffe blanche du pays"*); it had hanging round the neck a basket covered with white, and by the side of this bag the figure of a child 2 feet long. This seems to confirm the information that it was intended to represent a woman.

Another great festivity, given for a father either living or dead, was the "KORO." This was a house-party on a very extended scale. A special dwelling made with poles and thatched was put up, and, according to accounts, which surround it no doubt with a halo from the past, measured some hundreds of feet in length and 20 feet in height. An old man stated that at a celebration at which he was present there were "a hundred guests," a number which is probably a guess, but the addition that there were "ten cooking-places" sounds like memory. Invitations to these festivities were much in request, as there was "no work to do"; presents of food were brought to the hero who distributed them to the party. They seem to have lasted indefinitely, going on for months, and the time was passed with various entertainments. The old people sang, the young people danced, and the host, who lived in a little house near, came and looked on. On the last day there was a great feast, and the house was broken down with the aid of the carved wooden lizards, which are associated with the island (fig. 117). We were puzzled in coming across a rough stone building, near Anakena, which seemed to be neither ahu, dwelling, nor chicken-house; it had been, the men told us, a shelter for the posts of the koro, where they were kept in readiness for the next celebration.

There was yet another entertainment which is said to have been in honour of a mother, as a koro was of a father. In at least four different places on the island are to be seen a dancing-ground known as "KAUNGA." It is a narrow strip paved with pebbles, over 200 feet in length by 2 feet in width, and not

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off. So he went to Ngaara, who told him to bring ten coconuts, which he broke and put in pieces of the sacred tree, "ngau-ngau"; the spell blasted the offender, who promptly died. Ngaara himself attended the inauguration of any house of importance. The wooden lizards were put formally on each side of the entrance to the porch, and the Ariki and an ivi-atua, who "went with him like a tatane," were the first to eat in the new dwelling: only the houses with stone foundations were thus honoured. The Ariki was visited one month in the year by "all people," who brought him the plant known as pua on the end of sticks, put the pua into his house, and retired backwards.

He also held receptions on other occasions, seated on the broken-off head of an old image, which was pointed out on a grassy declivity among the hills behind Anakena; these were special occasions for criticising the tattoo. Those who were well tattooed were sent to stand on one hill slope, whilst those who were badly done were sent to another; the Ariki and men behind him laughed contemptuously at the latter (which, as the process was permanent and could not be altered, seems slightly unkind). These receptions were also attended by men who had made boats, and by twins, to whom the Ariki gave a "royal name." Such children were not, as in so many countries, considered unlucky, but it was necessary that at birth they should live in a house apart, otherwise they would not survive. This superstition still exists. Shortly before our arrival a woman in the village had given birth to twins, for whom a little grass house was put up; another woman went in and brought them out to the mother to nurse.

The Script

Closely connected with the subject of the Miru clan is that of the method of writing. While we can only catch glimpses of the image cult through the mists of antiquity, the tablets, known as "kohán-rongo-rongo,"[1] were an integral part of life on the island within the memory of men not much past middle age (fig. 98). The highest authority on them was the ariki Ngaara. It was tantalising to feel how near we were to their translation and yet how far. Te Haha had begun to learn to write, but found that his hand shook too much, besides, as he explained, Ngaara

[1] Sometimes called koho-rongo-rongo.